Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-174
Friday
8 September 1995

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-95-174 *8 September 1995*

CONTENTS

NOTICE: This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

FRY, Bosnian Serb Delegation Arrives in Geneva *[Belgrade Radio]* 1
FRY's Milutinovic 'Optimistic' *[AFP]* 1
First Round of Talks Ends *[Belgrade Radio]* 1

ALBANIA

Serreqi Discusses Kosovo Situation, Status *[Copenhagen POLITIKEN 6 Sep]* 3
Meets With Austria's Schuessel *[Tirana TV]* 3

BULGARIA

Zhelev, Kozyrev Urge Peaceful Solution in Balkans *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Pirinski, Kozyrev Hold Joint News Conference *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Zhelev 'Worried' by Delays in Economic Reforms *[Sofia Radio]* 4
Gechev Welcomes OECD Foreign Investment Forum *[Sofia Radio]* 5
Security Commission Approves Army Inspectorate *[Sofia Radio]* 5

CZECH REPUBLIC

ODA Rejects Postelection Coalition With CSSD *[LIDOVE NOVINY 2 Sep]* 6
Minister Views Administration Reduction Measures *[LIDOVE NOVINY 6 Sep]* 6

SLOVAKIA

Top Officials Asked for Help in Kidnapping Case *[Editorial Report]* 8
Reward Offered for Information *[PRAVDA 6 Sep]* 8
Kovac Extradition Depends on Meciar *[SME 5 Sep]* 9
Abduction Reaction Criticized *[Editorial Report]* 9
Parliament Approves Bill Returned by President *[Bratislava Radio]* 10
Parties Protest Dismissal of School Principals *[NARODNA OBRODA 2 Sep]* 10
General Maintenance at Bohunice Second Block *[NARODNA OBRODA 2 Sep]* 10

HUNGARY

Horn Assesses Coalition Agreement With SZDSZ *[NEPSZABADSAG 7 Sep]* 11
SZDSZ's Peto Interviewed *[NEPSZABADSAG 7 Sep]* 12
Government Blamed for State of Hungarians Abroad *[Budapest Radio]* 13
Assembly Committee Issues Plan for Army Drawdown *[Budapest Radio]* 13

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Sacirbegovic Views U.S. Plan, Rejects Division *[Hamburg DIE WOCHE 8 Sep]* 14
Political Parties Reject 'Any Kind' of Partition *[Editorial Report]* 14
SDA, GDS: U.S. Initiative 'Chance' for Peace *[Sarajevo Radio]* 15
Interior Minister Views Aims, Functions *[DANI 11 Aug]* 15
Croat, Muslim Army Commanders Discuss Cooperation *[Mostar Radio]* 20
Army Spokesman on Effectiveness of NATO Bombing *[Copenhagen POLITIKEN 7 Sep]* 21
81st Division Comments *[Sarajevo Radio]* 22
Radio Rounds Up Combat Activities *[Sarajevo Radio]* 22
Serb Government Orders Noncompliance With NATO *[Pale TV]* 22
Mladic Reports 'Limited' NATO Success *[SRNA]* 23
Ruling SDS Party Discusses NATO Bombing *[SRNA]* 23
More on SDS Session Discussion *[Pale TV]* 23
Serbs Consent to Transit of Humanitarian Goods *[SRNA]* 24
RS: NATO, Croatia Attacking Western Bosnia *[Belgrade Radio]* 24
Croatians Attack in Drvar *[TANJUG]* 24
Radio Reports Civilian Targets 'Frequently' Hit *[Belgrade Radio]* 25

CROATIA

Army Commander on Situation in Eastern Slavonia *[VECERNJI LIST 7 Sep]* 26
Z-4 Plan Seen as Solution in Eastern Slavonia *[POLITIKA 2 Sep]* 27
Citizens Support Opatija Joining Istria *[FERAL TRIBUNE 31 Jul]* 28

POLAND

Talbott, Lake Give Assurances of NATO Enlargement *[Warsaw Radio]* 31
Official Interviewed on Integration *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 7 Sep]* 31
Belarus Militia Blocks TU Leader's Visit to Warsaw *[Warsaw TV]* 32
Oleksy: Army To Get More From Next Year's Budget *[Warsaw Radio]* 32
PT-91, Gorilla Battle Tanks Described *[Bonn WEHRTECHNIK Aug]* 32

ROMANIA

Iliescu's Reconciliation Initiative With Hungary 35
Melescanu on OSCE Response *[Bucharest Radio]* 35
Reconciliation Effort Criticized *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 1 Sep]* 35
Hungarians Want Own Education Institutes *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 4 Sep]* 36

SLOVENIA

Parliament Debates Ownership Transformation *[SLOVENIA WEEKLY 22 Jul]* 38

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Government Asks Security Council To Halt Strikes *[Belgrade Radio]* 40
Lilic Urges End to Bombing, Meets Cypriot Officials *[TANJUG]* 40
Ministry Sends Protest Note to Czech Republic *[TANJUG]* 41
TANJUG Views Zagreb's 'Pressure' on Serbs 41
TANJUG on UK Economic Cooperation Seminar 41

Serbia

Government Announces Measures To Control Prices *[Belgrade Radio]* 42
Claims That Serbs Bombed Serbs Refuted *[POLITIKA 10 Aug]* 42

Kosovo

Albanians Oppose Serbian Moves To 'Colonize' *[Editorial Report]* 43

Vojvodina

Sombor Airport Adapted to Civilian Use *[EKONOMSKA POLITIKA 31 Jul]* 45

FRY, Bosnian Serb Delegation Arrives in Geneva

LD0709213495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2037 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Geneva, 7 Sep (TANJUG)—A joint delegation of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] and the Bosnian Serb Republic, led by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic, arrived in Geneva late this evening. They will take part in the meeting of the foreign ministers of Yugoslavia, Croatia, and the Muslim-Croat federation tomorrow.

The delegation includes Nikola Cicanovic, the deputy Yugoslav foreign minister; Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serb Republic; and Bosnian Serb Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha.

In a brief statement upon his arrival in Geneva, the Yugoslav foreign minister told journalists that he expected the meeting tomorrow to succeed but that this depended on other participants.

Immediately upon his arrival, Milan Milutinovic had a meeting with Richard Holbrooke, U.S. assistant secretary of state.

Addressing the journalists before the talks with Milutinovic, Holbrooke said that, if the meeting tomorrow failed, a disaster would ensue. [passage omitted]

The Croatian delegation also arrived in Geneva. Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic, head of the delegation, said that it was a success that the peace process was resumed after 20 months. [passage omitted]

FRY's Milutinovic 'Optimistic'

AU0809085695 Paris AFP in English 0828 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, Sept 8 (AFP)—The U.S. brokered talks on the future of Bosnia attended by the foreign ministers of Croatia, Bosnia and Yugoslavia, as well as a delegation from the Bosnian Serbs, got underway shortly after 1000 a.m. here.

Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic said he was "optimistic, but everything depends on the other parties," as he entered the U.S. mission here.

Neither of the other foreign ministers, Mate Granic of Croatia and Bosnia's Muhamed Sacirbey, would make any comment as they arrived for the talks.

The Bosnian Serbs who have agreed to let Yugoslavia negotiate on their behalf, are represented by the "vice president" of their self-proclaimed republic, Nikola Koljevic, and "foreign minister" Aleksa Buha

The talks bring the key players in the Bosnian tragedy together for the first time in more than a year, but with no fundamental shifts apparent in the positions of the protagonists, diplomats are not looking for a breakthrough.

Western officials had recently spoken of a turning point in the Bosnian crisis, particularly following the Bosnian Serbs' punishing defeat in Croatia, the willingness of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to bring the Bosnian Serbs to the negotiating table and NATO's new-found readiness to use force against the Serbs to back up UN demands.

But Washington's Balkan troubleshooter, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke, has warned that as each party is still clinging to its own agenda, Friday's parley "is going to be difficult."

Holbrooke, in a burst of frenetic shuttle diplomacy, has been touring the Balkans for the past several weeks promoting a scheme under which the Bosnian Serbs would be accorded 49 percent of the country and a Moslem-Croat federation the rest.

The plan draws heavily on an earlier western proposal but holds out the possibility of substantial exchanges of territory within the 51-49 arrangement.

It would also preserve a united Bosnia made up of the Moslem-Croat federation and a Serb entity that would be authorized to maintain ties—still undefined—with Milosevic's Serbian republic.

First Round of Talks Ends

LD0809104595 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1006 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Geneva, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—The first round of talks in Geneva between the foreign ministers of Yugoslavia, Croatia, and the Muslim government in Sarajevo and representatives of the Contact Group have ended after one hour of work.

In the first part of the talks, which were held in plenary session, the representatives of the Contact Group and heads of the Yugoslav, Croatian, and Muslim delegations took the floor. The general conclusion was that all participants called for a peaceful solution to the crisis, not only in Bosnia. At the same time, Richard Holbrooke, head of the U.S. negotiating team, particularly stressed that Croatia must adhere to demands for a peaceful solution of all disputed issues in the area of the former Yugoslavia.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

This phase of the negotiations was devoted primarily to questions of the principles that would form the basis for concrete decisions on the division of Bosnia into a Muslim-Croat part and the Serb Republic.

Minister Milutinovic, head of the Yugoslav delegation, also had a separate meeting with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov, head of the Russian negotiating team in Geneva. The Geneva meeting is continuing with bilateral contacts, and, during the afternoon, the plenary session will be resumed.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Serreqi Discusses Kosovo Situation, Status

BR0709133595 Copenhagen POLITIKEN in Danish 6 Sep 95 p 10

[Interview with Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi by Anders Lomholt in Copenhagen; no date given: "Kosovo's Demands Are Being Ignored"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Following the forced removal of Serbian refugees from Krajina to Kosovo, Albania sees a real danger of being sucked into the war. During his visit to Copenhagen, Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi warned against underestimating the crisis in the Serbian province of Kosovo, where Albanians constitute 90 percent of the population.*

[Lomholt] How does the Albanian Government in Tirana view the latest flow of refugees into Kosovo?

[Serreqi] It is a highly provocative action for all Albanians and something against which we have protested strongly. Albania is deeply concerned at the fact that Kosovo is not part of the Contact Group's peace plan, because unless the Kosovo problem is solved, there will never be peace in the Balkans.

[Lomholt] How great is the risk of the conflict spreading from the former Yugoslavia to Albania?

[Serreqi] The latest peace plan looks as if it is going to recognize a Serbian entity within Bosnia, but Kosovo's call for autonomy is being ignored. Right now we find ourselves at a milestone in the conflict. On the one hand it looks as if there might be a possibility of a political solution in Bosnia, while on the other hand there is a growing risk of the war spreading, due to the Serbs' provocations in Kosovo.

Albania will not sit idly by and watch a bloodbath take place in Kosovo, but it is not just up to the government. Nobody knows how long the Albanians can live with the critical situation in Kosovo, and at some point in time, the Albanian people will react when their existence and physical safety are placed under threat.

[Lomholt] How can the problems in Kosovo be solved?

[Serreqi] First and foremost, Kosovo must be included in the peace plan, and Albania should be present at the upcoming negotiations. Second, international observers should be sent to Kosovo if we are to avoid clashes between Albanians and Serbs.

[Lomholt] Do you see any possibility of Kosovo being united with Albania?

[Serreqi] We have no territorial claims and Albania does not want to change the borders by force. However, in the long term Kosovo cannot remain covered by the Yugoslav constitution because Kosovo has never been an integrated part of Serbia.

[Lomholt] Whom do you consider to be Albania's allies in the Balkans?

[Serreqi] We have no allies in the Balkans, so our highest priority is the EU. However, we are working to improve our relations with our neighbors—with the exception of Serbia, to which we have no ties because of the situation in Kosovo.

Meets With Austria's Schuessel

AU0709201695 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi returned home today after a two-day visit to the Kingdom of Denmark. On the way home, Mr. Serreqi stopped over in Vienna, where he held a one-on-one meeting with Dr. Wolfgang Schuessel, vice chancellor, federal minister of foreign affairs, and chairman of the Austrian People's Party.

Serreqi also met with top Austrian state and political personalities. During the talks, they exchanged views on strengthening bilateral relations between our two countries in all aspects. On this occasion, Mr. Serreqi thanked the top Austrian state and political personalities for their contribution in consolidating the democratic processes in Albania and particularly in expediting its integration into European processes.

Welcoming Serreqi, Austrian Justice Minister Dr. Nikolaus Michalek expressed Austria's determination to bolster its assistance to Albania in all fields and state levels.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Zhelev, Kozyrev Urge Peaceful Solution in Balkans

AU0709200095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Zhelev's meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev lasted longer than expected. During the meeting, three main topics were discussed.

One concerned the need to create a future security system in Europe in which each member country of the system would make its own sovereign decisions, and all this was discussed against the background of the conflict raging in former Yugoslavia. Regarding the Yugoslav conflict, President Zhelev and Minister Kozyrev agreed on the need to seek a peaceful political solution to the crisis in Bosnia.

Another topic discussed was the progress achieved in bilateral relations between Bulgaria and Russia, chiefly in the economic field.

President Zhelev received greetings from his counterpart Boris Yeltsin and used his meeting with Minister Kozyrev to declare his support for the proreform democratic forces in Russia on the eve of the new elections.

This report was given to journalists by Kamen Velichkov, the president's foreign policy adviser.

Pirinski, Kozyrev Hold Joint News Conference

AU0809105495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Following his meeting with Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev held a joint news conference with his Bulgarian colleague Georgi Pirinski. Prime Minister Videnov described as an important document the final communique that summarizes the results of the two-day visit by the top Russian diplomat. The two foreign ministers added that the document was constructive, justifying this by the fact that the two countries' positions on the main topical issues coincided or were close to one another, and were based on further developing bilateral relations.

In Minister Pirinski's words, at the Sofia meeting the productive discussions centered on five [as heard] main groups of issues: economic cooperation, the Yugo conflict, the new European security architecture, and Black Sea cooperation.

Asked how Bulgaria might assist in achieving a peaceful settlement of the Balkan conflict—on which Bulgaria has repeatedly declared its position, Minister Pirinski answered as follows:

[Begin Pirinski recording] I should inform you that this issue specifically cropped up during yesterday's evening talks between Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev and Minister Kozyrev. The president stated—and I share his view—that from the very beginning of the crisis, Bulgaria has been striving to contribute to creating possibilities for a positive outcome of this conflict—this crisis, seeking to maintain an unbiased [ravnostoen] approach to the parties engaged in the conflict. Second, Bulgaria has unequivocally assumed a position opposing our engagement in any way, whether directly or indirectly, in military operations connected with the conflict. Third, as the president stressed, Bulgaria has appealed to all the Balkan countries—not only those involved in the crisis, to refrain from such military engagement.

In my view, this position shows the understanding that it is better for the countries directly bordering on the area of the conflict not to try to put forward their own initiatives and to strive directly to seek a solution, because the problems lying behind the conflict are extremely complex and involve very many interests.

At the same time, I would immediately like to stress that the other extreme is hardly desirable or understandable, namely to seek a settlement of this crisis without even consulting the neighboring countries, without even informing them on a sufficiently regular basis of the work going on, let us say, through the contact group. [end Pirinski recording]

[Announcer] Here is the view of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on the subject of the Yugoslav conflict and the joint efforts to achieve a settlement.

[Brief recording of Kozyrev in Russian, followed by announcer-read Bulgarian translation] If you look at the problems as set out in the communique, you will see that it states that we support a political process, and only this path leads to a balanced settlement of the conflict. Bulgaria's positions are well known on seeking to alleviate the hardships arising from the economic sanctions, and we offer our support. Now an unprecedented chance is being offered to find a political solution, a political settlement of the crisis, and it would be strange for us not to be aware of Bulgaria's open position, which is no novice in Balkan affairs.

This report was provided by Vanya Manolova.

Zhelev 'Worried' by Delays in Economic Reforms

AU0709192095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 7 Sep 95

[Report by Silviya Velikova]

[FBIS Translated Text] European integration is a main priority for Bulgaria, President Zhelyu Zhelev said at

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

his meeting with European Parliament members, who are taking part in the session of the Joint Bulgaria-EU Commission.

The European Parliament members asked the head of state a number of questions. One of them related to the progress of the reforms in Bulgaria. President Zhelev stated that he is worried by the delay of the reforms, especially by the procrastination in the restitution of property and the holdup of the return of farmland to its owners. The European MPs asked how the Western democracies might help Bulgaria in the fight against crime. In reply, the head of state said that we are waiting for any kind of help, because Bulgaria has not remained insulated from the general increase in the crime rate in the eastern European democracies.

The European MPs promised President Zhelev their assistance in removing the visa restrictions under the Schengen Agreement, but pointed out that, despite everything, we too must work on legislation in preparing for this.

Gechev Welcomes OECD Foreign Investment Forum

AU0709151495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1418 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sofia, September 7 (BTA)—"Bulgaria is moving in the right direction in promoting reforms and has a good business climate for small and midsize businesses," Deputy Prime Minister Rumen Gechev said here today, opening the fifth two-day plenary meeting of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD] (G-24).

The forum is cosponsored by Bulgaria's Governmental Interdepartmental Council for Foreign Investment. One hundred and twenty participants from 35 countries will be exchanging information on attracting foreign investment in small and medium-sized businesses in the countries in transition. Most participants represent agencies engaged in the process, ministries, the IMF, and the World Bank.

The recommendations of the forum will be very useful for Bulgaria, Gechev said. The OECD nations have valuable experience in organization, market instruments for the encouragement of small and medium-sized businesses, and in providing current economic information.

In addition to the informational exchange, Bulgarian experts expect the meeting to lay the foundations for institutionalized cooperation between national and international agencies responsible for small and medium-sized businesses. Bulgaria's minister of economic development expressed the hope that the initial stage of establishing such agencies in Bulgaria will be financially supported by the G-24.

In turn, the government will be committing itself to promoting positive macroeconomic trends, Gechev told DAILY NEWS. According to him, soft loans or special banks to service small entrepreneurs are not good market mechanisms to revive small business. The government would prefer indirect mechanisms, such as tax relief and free information about domestic and international markets and potential foreign partners. It will be providing institutional support, setting up a special group with the Ministry of Economic Development to encourage small and medium-sized business.

Security Commission Approves Army Inspectorate

AU0709193795 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Today the members of the Parliamentary National Security Commission voted in support of Article 38 of the Defense and Armed Forces Bill, which provides for the creation of an army inspectorate as a instrument to be used by the defense minister for civil control in the Defense Ministry system.

The commission's members specified that the new body would include civilian and military members and would be headed by a chief inspector holding a rank lower than that of the chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

ODA Rejects Postelection Coalition With CSSD

AU0709121995 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 2 Sep 95 p 3

[Article by Miroslav Korecky and Martin Manak: "ODA Thinks Zeman Should Attend to Boxing Within the CSSD and Not Assigning Government Seats"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the parliamentary elections, the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] will in no way be a member of a coalition that governs with the tacit support of the communists. ODA Chairman Jan Kalvoda said this to a LIDOVE NOVINY correspondent yesterday.

He was reacting to a report carried in LIDOVE NOVINY yesterday according to which, in the event of his party's electoral success, Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD] Chairman Milos Zeman would like to form a coalition with the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] and, possibly, ODA, and would rely on the tacit support of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia. Zeman offered to give the two smaller current coalition parties one government seat more in the new cabinet than Vaclav Klaus would be willing to give them.

"ODA does not want to conduct this type of policy. As far as Mr. Zeman and social democracy are concerned, I think this party is still at the stage of boxing for places on the lists of candidates and not at the stage of assigning seats," said Kalvoda yesterday. According to him, it is extremely premature to talk about distributing government posts, "especially on the basis of an offer of x + 1."

CSSD Chairman Milos Zeman yesterday described his 30 August comments on the possibility of forming a postelection coalition with the KDU-CSL and ODA as irony and bons mots. "This is a misinterpretation of my unofficial information," he explained. He also said that he agrees completely with the point of view of KDU-CSL Chairman Josef Lux that "postelection coalitions are only discussed after elections." He emphasized again that he is a fundamental opponent of the formation of a so-called grand governing coalition involving the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and the CSSD. "I would like to believe that ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus is also an opponent of this," commented the leader of the social democrats. "On the other hand, it is necessary to realize that, if a grand coalition were indeed formed, this would mean eliminating the smaller political parties—for example, the KDU-CSL and ODA—from participation in the government because there would no longer be any need for them," he added.

At an unofficial meeting with reporters on Wednesday, the CSSD chairman had said that he is "attracted by the Austrian model." In Austria, the Social Democrats and the People's Party have been governing in a coalition for some time. Zeman described the KDU-CSL as "our only truly centrist party." He praised, first and foremost, its orientation toward a social market economy. He also said that, if Klaus's ODS does not win the election next year, it will fall apart. "It is a party of bolsheviks and members of the [former] Socialist Youth Movement united only by their power interests," said Zeman with regard to the ODS.

Minister Views Administration Reduction Measures

AU0809100895 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 6 Sep 95 p 9

[Interview with Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik by Michal Achremenko; place and date not given: "Kocarnik Does Not Command the 'Wind and Rain'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Finance Ministry issued a statement recently according to which the measures planned to reduce the state administration should result in saving the state budget 2-3 billion korunas [Kc]. Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik explains in the interview for LIDOVE NOVINY that these are not measures in the spirit of slogans of the 1950's, as Jan Kalvoda said.

[Achremenko] Sir, Jan Kalvoda has ascribed to you the mode of thinking of the "We command the wind and rain" [communist slogan of the 1950's] style. What actually is the basis for your proposal?

[Kocarnik] The draft-saving measures program covers the four main areas in which the waste of funds is most obvious and where the saving measures are ready to hand.

The first area is the use of "company" cars, of which, we believe, there are too many in operation. We propose a ratio of one car per 80 employees of state administration....

[Achremenko] How many employees actually work in the state administration?

[Kocarnik] The number of employees with salaries paid from the state budget hovers around 560,000, which includes district offices and also teachers, for instance.

[Achremenko] So, you do not want more than 7,000 company cars in the state administration. How much will that save?

[Kocarnik] The imposition of a limit on the number of cars alone should bring us an annual saving of Kc700 million to Kc900 million.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

A truly fundamental issue, however, is the reduction in the number of people employed in the state administration. The staff should be reduced by some 4,000 people, but it should not be done "arbitrarily." On the one hand, 6,000 new employees will be added, mostly in the ranks of police, prison services, and tax clerks. The expansion of these services is justly demanded by the public, while the tax controllers are needed by the state for the prevention of massive tax evasion, which, after all, will also have a positive impact on the public.

At the same time, 10,000 hitherto employees will leave the state administration. The end result is the aforementioned reduction by 4,000 people.

The third area is real estate that the state administration does not need for its work but has taken care of so far, which means that the day-to-day operation costs taxpayers money. This applies to unused facilities in particular—in border regions, for instance—mostly under the ownership of the Interior and Defense Ministries. The Finance Ministry proposes selling these facilities, and in some instances transferring them free of charge to the ownership of communities, which still would be "cheaper" than their maintenance.

The last of the fundamental areas is state material reserves. They are disproportionately high, which results in excessive cost for their storage and maintenance. A Kc5-billion reduction of the value of these reserves is planned over the next three years, and Kc700 million of this as soon as next year.

These are the main measures that should bring in a substantial part of the savings planned. There are also many additional measures. A new small businessman, for instance, will have to register with the tax office immediately after obtaining his license, while so far there has been a limit of 30 days. This way, he will not be able to use the 30 days for conducting business "unregistered" and possibly even disappear with illegally acquired funds.

[Achremenko] Have these measures already been incorporated in the draft balanced budget, or will they contribute to generating a surplus?

[Kocarnik] The proposed savings will be reflected in the second draft of the budget.

[Achremenko] How will you justify the increase in drawing investment expenditures of budget-funded organizations, i.e. mostly wages, at the end of the half-year against the planned 3.9-percent rate?

[Kocarnik] This increase includes the modification of wage tariffs implemented during the first six months of the year.

[Achremenko] Will you pull a trump card from your sleeve before the elections in the form of additional funds?

[Kocarnik] This government is not interested in attractive policies; it works on a continuity basis.

[Achremenko] How many buildings does the Finance Ministry have in the Lesser Quarter [Prague district], and what is their market, or possibly book, value?

[Kocarnik] It is a single building with two lot registration numbers, and, offhand, I cannot give you its value—neither market nor book value.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Top Officials Asked for Help in Kidnapping Case

LD0709143295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak at 1000 GMT on 7 September carries an interview with Jaroslav Simunic, the investigator into the abduction of President Kovac's son, Michal Kovac Jr. Simunic says he has asked high Slovak officials for measures to facilitate the investigation of the case: "I wrote to the interior minister and asked him to abolish other teams so that the case is led by an investigator who is legally empowered to do so—me. I asked the minister to create conditions so that this case can be investigated."

Simunic adds that he has also written to Slovak Intelligence Service (SIS) Director Ivan Lexa: "I asked him to clear all SIS members and those who either cooperate with SIS or who contribute to SIS tasks, of their right to silence so that I can question them. I also asked the chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [Ivan Gasparovic] to find a way of clearing the right to silence of both, the present [Ivan Lexa] and the former [Vladimir Mitro] director of SIS, and that they be given a chance to cooperate with the so-called Special Supervisory Agency [OKO], so that I can enter SIS facilities."

Simunic said, that although the motive for the abduction is not known, the investigation has established that there were four persons at the scene of the abduction: "These are suspects, and their position differs from that of ordinary witnesses." Simunic adds that their apprehension was a result of cooperation between investigators and criminal police.

Reward Offered for Information

AU0709174395 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Sep 95 pp 1-2

[Report by TASR, CTK, "(kh)," and "(ad)": "A Reward for the Witnesses to the Assault"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava/Vienna—The investigation into Michal Kovac Jr.'s abduction abroad confirms that several people took part in this deed. Some of them may have had a role only marginally associated with the assault and kidnapping and may not be aware that they are accessories to a serious crime. This pronouncement was made yesterday by Jaroslav Simunic, the Police Corps investigator assigned to the case.

Investigator Simunic, in accordance with Article 33 of the Penal Code, has also appealed to those who indirectly took part in M.K. Jr.'s abduction to come forward voluntarily. Their confession will be a mitigating circumstance with the court. He mentioned that assumptions issued as facts are often spread in the media. Despite the fact that their sources are also, apparently, reliable police sources, this information is unverified.

We found out yesterday that there were unquestionably more than the originally reported eight men involved in the abduction of the president's son. On the fateful Thursday [31 August], M. Kovac Jr. left home in Svaty Jur for work in Bratislava later than normal. He usually left home at about 0900. At 1030, he telephoned his office in Bratislava and said that he would be leaving in a few minutes. He did not get to work. We have found out that a line of cars, whose drivers witnessed the crime, was formed behind M. Kovac Jr.'s car when his way was blocked. However, no one answered his cries for help.

In the opinion of experts who do not wish to be named for obvious reasons, after he was attacked, M. Kovac Jr. may have been sedated not only with alcohol but also with drugs and, clearly, information was extracted from him intelligence-style—that is, he was interrogated while under their influence. The time difference between the assault (approximately 1050) and the anonymous telephone call that notified the Austrian police in Hainburg of the car with M. Kovac Jr. in the back seat (about 1700), provides scope for speculation about what happened to the president's son and why the kidnappers needed so much time. According to eye witnesses at the border-crossing point with Austria in Petrzalka, at about 1000 on Thursday, 31 August, a group of men who had been hanging around there became agitated and nervous. The reason could have been the late departure of the president's son from Svaty Jur. Some investigators think the kidnappers used this border crossing and that the illegal abduction of M. Kovac Jr. took place shortly after he was assaulted. Most likely, during the crossing, the zone for diplomats was used, an area through which vehicles with holders of diplomatic passports proceed. This indicates that the whole operation was professionally planned and implemented.

M. Kovac Jr.'s wife is offering a reward of 40,000 korunas for information that could lead to the arrest of those who abducted her husband and took him to Austria. According to her, he has confirmed that, at the time he was attacked, there were many cars in the vicinity whose drivers could give evidence.

Christian Democratic Movement Chairman Jan Carnogursky yesterday submitted a written interpellation to Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in connection with the kidnapping of M. Kovac Jr. In it, he asks the prime minister to say whether, during the night of Thursday, 31 August, and Friday, 1 September, he was

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

at the border crossing point with Austria and, if he was, why.

Kovac Extradition Depends on Meciar

AU0609134395 Bratislava SME in Slovak 5 Sep 95 p 1

[Report by "(mim)": "The Fate of the Slovak President's Son Evidently Depends on the Slovak Prime Minister Alone"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vienna—"To date, we have not received a request from Slovakia for the extradition of Michal Kovac Jr.," said Dr. Guenther Woratsch, the director of the Vienna Land Court, to SME yesterday. This information was also confirmed for us by staff at the Slovak Embassy in Austria. In the opinion of some of those involved in this affair, the decision on whether the Slovak side will request the extradition of the president's son at all will be made by one man—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. This is evidently the reason the Vienna Land Court has still not received a request from the Slovak authorities to extradite Michal Kovac Jr., even though the Federal Republic of Germany requested the extradition of the Slovak president's son as early as 1 September.

We met the Slovak president's wife, Mrs. Emilia Kovacova, outside the Vienna Land Court yesterday. However, she refused to explain the reason for her visit. It is highly probable that she met the consul from our embassy in Vienna, Dr. Peter Ilcik, who is in constant contact with the Slovak president's detained son, and tried to visit her son.

Dr. Woratsch also told SME that Michal Kovac Jr. will be represented by a Vienna attorney. With regard to the state of health of the president's son's, he told SME that he is fine, that he was only slightly injured. According to him, his relatives are able to visit him.

According to the president of the Land Court, Michal Kovac Jr.'s fate will definitely not be decided this week, because the Austrians have to evaluate all of the materials they requested from Germany. The Austrian media, in connection with the extradition of Michal Kovac Jr., are talking about a period of at least two weeks.

Abduction Reaction Criticized

AU0709193895

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 5 September carries two items that criticize the reaction to the kidnapping of the president's son, Michal Kovac Jr., and suggestions that the government had something to do with it.

In a 1,000-word article carried on pages 1 and 2 under the headline "Did the Slovak President Really Meet With the Leader of the Underworld?," Miroslav Sasky writes about the reaction to the kidnapping "of the son of a prominent Slovak." In his view, it has been forgotten that "the international arrest warrant had been called StB (State Security)-style disinformation," while, on the basis of the opinion of "observers," the daily itself is being described as "a fellow protagonist in the kidnapping." Sasky counters these views by saying that "other observers, again, are noticing ambiguities concerning the case—for example, the faxes that were allegedly in Michal K. Jr.'s car and, apart from the accusations against the governing coalition, there are also, equally bold at least, claims that the Slovak president met recently with representatives of the underworld. It really is difficult to adopt a point of view on the whole affair." He describes the allegations that SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA knew something about the kidnapping or "even initiated it" as "figments of a sick imagination." Sasky tells readers: "We can assure everyone that this turn of events did not gratify us and that we do not approve of such practices!" He then goes on to criticize the views on the kidnapping taken by the Party of the Democratic Left and the Christian Democratic Movement, but especially by the Association for the Republic-Republicans. It had claimed that "the same group of people who caused the death of A. Dubcek also have this kidnapping on their conscience" and that this was the last attempt by those "frightened by the prospect of the president's address to parliament in September" to discredit Michal Kovac Sr. This is too much for Sasky. In his view, "the presumption of innocence applies not only to a person sought by an international arrest warrant, but also to unknown kidnappers." The author rounds off his article by dismissing the opposition's calls for Interior Minister Hudek's resignation and by asking if all citizens are equal. He says: "I. Dudak (chairman of the Young Democratic Left) is demanding that Interior Minister Hudek consider his degree of responsibility and resign from his post. Incidentally, this is not new; similar demands have also come from other, more important politicians, but it is intriguing that, if the proclaimed theories about the equality of all citizens regardless of their family ties are true, it would be interesting to know why none of them reacted in this way to the 'white-flesh trade' cases that have occurred in the past and why in none of these cases no one asked the foreign minister to demand the return of the kidnapped people."

In a 700-word statement carried on page 3 under the headline "Who Is Playing Unfairly," the SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA editorial office issues a response to those who are "openly and with impunity accusing the govern-

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

ment and its bodies of organizing the kidnapping" and questions the "moves that testify to the father's attempts to use his position to thwart the investigation and claim special concessions not available to other citizens." The daily's editorial team poses a series of questions for the "defenders of the prominent citizen and the accusers of the government." It asks if every Slovak citizen can visit the Austrian president and "urge" him to resolve his son's case; if everyone sought by Interpol could undergo "secret questioning" in Bratislava; why, if he is innocent, Michal Kovac Jr. is afraid of an investigation in Munich; and why the public is only learning now of the "alleged theft of compromising (?) documents from the home-fortress of M.K. Jr. in Svaty Jur" and if the "theft" has been "fabricated." The editorial team concludes its statement by asking: "Whom do the allusions to the 'fingers of the Slovak Information Service' and to the government—allegedly responsible for the kidnapping of M.K. Jr.—benefit? To demand the presumption of innocence for oneself and one's son and to accuse others without evidence is, to say the least, unfair. And now for our last question: Is it possible that a father-prominent citizen would not know what kind of business his son is involved in?"

Parliament Approves Bill Returned by President

LD0709150295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1300 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The 9th Session of the National Council of Slovakia continues in Bratislava today with a debate on the [privatization] bills that the president did not sign and that he returned to parliament for another debate.

Following the debate, which was joined by Sergej Kozlik, deputy prime minister and finance minister, and Roman Hofbauer, chairman of the Economic, Privatization, and Business Committee, deputies took a vote and once again approved the bill on investment companies and investment funds and the bill on ensuring the state's interests during the privatization of state enterprises and joint-stock companies of strategic importance.

Parties Protest Dismissal of School Principals

AU0809095495 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Sep 95 p 2

[Article by Karol Mindak: "P. Csaky: The Dismissal of the School Principals Has a Political Background"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Levice—At a meeting in Levice on 31 August, representatives from the Democratic Union, Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, Party of the Democratic Left, and Hungarian Civic Party expressed their misgivings about the dismissal of 13 of the region's school principals. This has happened despite information from the Levice School Administration management in July that there would be no dismissals. They cited as an example the teacher of physical and civil-defense education from a vocational school without management experience who, five days before the start of the school year, was appointed principal of the Hungarian-language Sahy High School even though he does not speak Hungarian. "The replacement of the principals is wrong; exclusively political motives prevail here. People who were not absolutely loyal to the ruling powers have lost their jobs," said P. Csaky. "Not one of the dismissed principals infringed his employment code of conduct."

General Maintenance at Bohunice Second Block

AU0809100995 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Sep 95 p 5

[TASR report: "The General Maintenance of the V-1 Second Block Will Begin Today"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Jaslovske Bohunice—In accordance with the annual plan for shutting down the Bohunice nuclear power plant's [JE] blocks to replace the fuel, the scheduled standard general maintenance of the JE V-1's second block will begin today. Dobroslav Dobak, head of the plant's unit for international relations and public relations, informed TASR of this yesterday. During the shutdown period, which is scheduled to last 45 days, normal checks and examinations of the power plant's equipment will be made. Within the framework of the tasks for the gradual reconstruction of the JE V-1 in Jaslovske Bohunice, which proceed from the requirements laid down by the Slovak Office for Nuclear Supervision, work will be carried out in the part of the seismic resistance and in the part of the electrical installations, in particular, where the electronic safeguards for the plant's safety systems will be replaced.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Horn Assesses Coalition Agreement With SZDSZ

AU0709192295 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Sep 95 p 10

[Interview with Prime Minister Gyula Horn by Kalatin Bossanyi and Peter Vajda; place and date not given: "Gyula Horn: No One Can Say He Is a Winner or a Loser"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [NEPSZABADSAG] Mr. Prime Minister, how do you view the current coalition agreement, how unexpected was this, and how did you manage to come to an agreement in such a relatively short time?

[Horn] We had prepared for the talks and previously announced this; we are in favor of openness and there is no point in keeping such things secret. Prior to the talks, the executive committee held a three-hour meeting, which produced an essentially united view and I was then able to inform the Free Democrat coalition partner of the stance, summed up in points, taken at this session. Ivan Peto [chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats, SZDSZ] and his colleagues said in reply that they also wanted to make a proposal in the same spirit. At our request, the SZDSZ confirmed that it also insisted on the coalition, just as we had done in the past. As to whether someone has won and someone has been defeated, in my view, no one can declare himself to be a winner or a loser. By all means, the winner is the coalition, in this sense, sober thinking, and I could also say the nation.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Did you believe all along that the coalition was needed? Is the reason events have turned out as they did that the party's executive committee had tied your hands?

[Horn] If I had not believed in the need for a coalition agreement, then nothing could have made me do it and I would not now be the prime minister of a coalition government. I still believe in it and not only because this is expected of us by foreign countries, the IMF, or any other international organization, but because domestic factors make it necessary. As I have said, no one has tied my hands. For me, the first results of the stabilization program, which I mentioned in my parliamentary speech, show that the coalition can implement what it initiated. As for my attitude to this issue, I also told the coalition partner that, at the beginning of 1995, drawing the conclusions of the first months of governing, I took on a moratorium, which essentially meant that I would do all that I could to settle any debates arising with the coalition partner without involving the public. No one can quote any examples of me doing the opposite of this. As part of being open, I also mentioned to the coalition partner that I did not always see a similar self-restraint on the other side. In certain cases, in addition to members of the SZDSZ, certain organizations, for example, the SZDSZ's executive body, also publicly criticized the government or its members, including myself. It is also difficult to accept that, when we have a Constitutional Court decision in connection with certain sections of the stabilization program, a statement should be made that they [not further defined] are moving further away from the stabilization program.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The fact that you unexpectedly raised the issue of restructuring the government played a major role in sparking off the acute part of the latest debate.

[Horn] These issues would soon have surfaced anyway, even if I had not brought them up, because there is a justified need to raise the level of governmental work. It must be openly admitted that very many issues are brought to the Prime Minister's Office because important decisions are not being implemented. It is partly because of such issues that we have an incredibly large workload and some government sessions have 40 to 50 points on the agenda. It has to be clearly seen that this country is in a period of transformation and, in this sense, cannot be compared to Western countries; here, in addition to dealing with concrete issues and determining the framework conditions, the government also has to intervene. This is the reason that I still consider it important to implement structural changes in the government to improve and coordinate the work.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Does this mean that you have not given up your ideas on the expedience of structural changes?

[Horn] The working group, which is led by Imre Szekeres [parliamentary group leader] on our side, has the seven-point and nine-point proposals, which naturally means that this includes the necessity to examine the structural changes. In other words, we must jointly decide whether to set up an economic ministry and, if we do, whether this should be done on the basis of an existing ministry. All these issues can be openly discussed because the coalition partner also accepts that we must strengthen the economic planning, or I could also say that the country needs a "planning office" in a positive sense of the term, naturally, not the type we had before the change of the regime, but an institution that exists in several Western countries. This cannot be done by the Finance Ministry, which is burdened with several other tasks. Naturally, we still have to work out what organizational framework, an institution or office, should do this work and how to end the debate; I myself have not yet made up my mind, either. In

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

my view, it is almost as important to have coordination of implementation mostly at the ministries that operate in the real sphere. I also believe that the head of the Prime Minister's Office has to play some kind of a special role in this, more or less similar to the way this operates in England and Germany. This is time-consuming work, where frequently clashing interests are coordinated and complex programs affecting several ministries are awaiting us. Therefore, this issue also has to be decided.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Can we also expect further clarifying work in connection with the prime minister's sphere of authority? You are also familiar with the critical remarks made in connection with this. It also seems obvious that you surrendered some elements of your broad authority in the coalition agreement.

[Horn] Life necessarily raises issues on the basis of the experiences of governing so far, to which answers have to be found. For example, what will the prime minister do when he is dissatisfied with the work of a minister because he does not implement the prime minister's instructions, especially when this minister is from a different party?

[NEPSZABADSAG] Has this happened?

[Horn] Sometimes. It is a task of one of the working committees to examine these issues and to ensure that the prime minister can do his job without his hands being tied. As it became clear at the talks that we agree on the basic issue, namely the issue of achieving stabilization, there is a good chance that we can also come to an agreement on the details.

SZDSZ's Peto Interviewed

AU0709182495 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Sep 95 p 7

[Interview with SZDSZ Chairman Ivan Peto by Attila Zsoldos; place and date not given: "The SZDSZ Cannot Interfere in the Internal Affairs of the MSZP"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Zsoldos] After the statements of recent weeks, you unexpectedly came to an agreement in just an hour and a half on 5 September. How do you explain this?

[Peto] Perhaps even before the parliamentary speeches on 4 September, and all the more so after them, it became clear that both coalition parties wanted to end the open debate. Although I was the one who formulated this in my speech, namely, that we should put an end to this debate one way or another, it seems that most deputies of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] also shared this position, but not everyone had the same approach.

A Similar Conflict Cannot Happen Again

[Zsoldos] Is this the reason behind your very tough, perhaps even too tough, speech in parliament?

[Peto] It is a matter of approach whether or not I used a very tough tone. I wanted to make it clear that this issue should be closed because, if we fail to end the conflict through an agreement, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] will also consider ending the coalition. I also had to make it clear that, even if the prime minister does not use tough formulations in connection with the coalition debate, the SZDSZ does not feel that it owes gratitude for this. A similar conflict cannot happen again. I made it clear that we are ready to agree to continuing the coalition but, if this cannot be solved, we must declare that we cannot continue together. Naturally, in such a speech, one decides whom to address. Contrary to the general habit, I aimed my speech at the MSZP and not the public at large. I think that I evaluated in advance that the tough tone would be justified if we ended the coalition because we could not come to an agreement. If the coalition continues, and I saw at least as much chance for this as for the split, the toughness of my tone becomes secondary and will not disturb the possible agreement next day.

[Zsoldos] In your opinion, what was the turning point?

[Peto] There were important precedents to our success in quickly coming to an agreement. The SZDSZ indeed succeeded in making people believe that failing to come to an agreement might end the coalition. We have already exhausted our compromise possibilities before; at the same time, in the past 14 months, we made it clear how important we regard the coalition from the viewpoint of stabilization. I presume that this also contributed to the fact that the conditions of an agreement also emerged in the MSZP, namely they realized that maintaining the coalition was more important than prestige factors. After their presidium meeting on 5 September, the MSZP negotiating delegation came to the meeting of the Coalition Coordination Council with a proposal that made agreement possible.

We Did Not Argue About Personalities

[Zsoldos] Do you fear that the tough position of the SZDSZ further increased the MSZP's antipathy toward your party?

[Peto] Not everyone in the MSZP welcomed the fact that I used a tougher tone in my answer to the prime minister's speech of a more conciliatory tone, one that did not present the problems clearly enough. This is possible. It is also true generally that many people did not rejoice at our stand; they hoped for more

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

empathy. However, when we tried to evaluate the possible reactions, we did not start from the internal conditions prevailing in the MSZP; instead, we focused on broader connections and on our own position. We knew that there would be people who would blame us, rather than the genuine causes, for the dissipation of their hopes, and this would lead to emotions against us. To avoid misunderstandings, I would like to point out that, at the talks, we only argued about the justification of new government positions and we never argued about personalities. We only evaluated positions, not personalities. I can also respect someone and the consistent representation of his opinion even if I do not agree with him on almost anything. I do not want to offend anyone, but there are probably those in the MSZP who, similarly to the opposition parties, think that the junior coalition party dictates matters. It is worth considering, however, that everywhere in the world where there is a government coalition, although the senior coalition party without an absolute majority asserts its numerical advantage in many decisions, the junior coalition party is in a disproportionately strong position, compared with the number of its seats: If it leaves the coalition, this will automatically lead to the fall of the government. The coalition agreement between the MSZP and the SZDSZ starts from the premise that, in distributing the government positions, the SZDSZ accepts the numerical proportion, but the two sides regard each other as equals in making important decisions. Of course, this does not quell the emotional outbursts. However, we started the coalition 11 months ago by accepting all this.

I Expect Modest Changes

[Zsoldos] We have learned that the claim that the SZDSZ is blackmailing the MSZP and that the SZDSZ is trying to overthrow the prime minister also emerged at the meeting of the Coalition Coordination Council. Is this true?

[Peto] I have also heard this supposition. This accusation is illogical also formally, because the SZDSZ was only reacting and was never initiating things in the long weeks of coalition conflict. This claim is also wrong rationally. Several people repeatedly formulated in the MSZP that, with the exception of Gyula Horn, there is nobody else within the party who could be considered for the post of prime minister. I do not know of anyone else, either. On the basis of sober political rationale, the SZDSZ does not aim, nor can it aim, at interfering in the internal affairs of a much larger coalition partner. If we did that, we would be threatening the ability of the coalition to function.

[Zsoldos] According to your calculations, will there be essential changes in the coalition agreement and the government structure in two or three weeks' time?

[Peto] We accepted the seven-point proposal of the SZDSZ and the nine-point proposal of the MSZP as a starting position. I do not think that other ideas might emerge. Therefore, I only expect modest changes.

Government Blamed for State of Hungarians Abroad

LD0709202795 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to three opposition parties, the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum], the KDNP [Christian Democratic People's Party] and FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Party], the situation of Hungarians living beyond the border has never been as critical as now. For this they blame the Hungarian Government first and foremost by saying that it does not represent the interests of the Hungarians beyond the border adequately. FIDESZ's Zsolt Nemeth backed this statement by recalling that the Hungarian Government failed to act firmly when 100,000 refugees were resettled in Vojvodina and that it did not lodge an official protest against the Slovak language law and alternative education law.

The three parties will strive for closer cooperation in foreign policy, too, because they are of the view that the government coalition has broken the earlier six-party consensus in foreign policy.

Assembly Committee Issues Plan for Army Drawdown

LD0609210695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 6 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] It was announced at the session of the National Assembly's Defense Committee that three military brigades, two regiments, and a battalion will be wound up by the end of 1995. They were only named at the committee's closed session.

It was also said that by the end of the year, the army's so-called regular staff will have to be reduced to 81,000 and by the end of 1996 to under 70,000. According to Imre Mecs, committee chairman, it is only hearsay at the moment that the conscript service time will be reduced to nine months in 1996, since the technical and financial background of this measure must be examined with great care.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Sacirbegovic Views U.S. Plan, Rejects Division

AU0809104295 Hamburg DIE WOCHE in German 8 Sep 95 p 27

[Interview with Foreign Minister Muhamed Sacirbegovic by Branimir Baron Brijevic; place and date not given: "Divided in Two? Never!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Brijevic] Does the Bosnian Government welcome the U.S. peace plan?

[Sacirbegovic] There is not much that is new about the plan itself. What is new are the NATO air strikes, which create a far more favorable point of departure for a future peace. Now that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has got his way within the Serb camp, conditions for true peace negotiations have come into being for the first time. We do not want to have any dealings whatsoever with war criminals and illegal representatives of the Serbian people. Milosevic started the war, and he should see to it that it ends.

[Brijevic] Does the U.S. peace plan not tend in the direction of a division of Bosnia?

[Sacirbegovic] It basically centers on the Contact Group plan presented in 1994. We accepted the plan at the time, and the Serbs rejected it. Essentially, we do not accept the division of Bosnia.

[Brijevic] The plan envisages the division of Bosnia.

[Sacirbegovic] That is correct. It envisages a division into two areas, which will still lie within the Bosnian state. Bosnia will never be divided. That is something that we will never accept. A peace plan should never call into question the territorial integrity of the country.

[Brijevic] How should that function: A unitary country on the one hand and, on the other hand, two areas that can unite with their neighboring countries?

[Sacirbegovic] There will be a unitary state with one president, one government, and a single constitution. Autonomy and local administration are envisaged for the two parts of the country, the Muslim-Croatian part and the Serbian part. However, the Army, the police, the administration, and the governmental apparatus must remain state institutions otherwise there will no longer be a state.

[Brijevic] So, you assume that there will be no division of Bosnian under the U.S. plan. Does that mean that you essentially reject the confederation offer although you already have a Muslim-Croatian federation?

[Sacirbegovic] That is a loose federation and not the first step on the way to the division of the country. The federation was formed to protect the victims of Serb aggression. However, we do not want to bear any responsibility for our people finding itself in a minority position. We have no such mandate. That is why there is no question of the Bosnian Serbs forming a confederation with Serbia from our point of view.

Political Parties Reject 'Any Kind' of Partition

AU0709162795

[FBIS Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 7 September carries within its regular 35-minute newscast several reports on the views of Bosnia-Herzegovina political parties on the NATO air campaign and the U.S. peace initiative.

Correspondent Samir Huseinovic reports on the news conference by Mirsad Ceman, secretary general of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA], at which he first says that "the SDA welcomes the continuation of NATO air strikes against the positions of the Bosnian rebel Serbs. These are activities in the function of peace that will certainly produce results." Huseinovic then cites Ceman as saying that "the SDA is committed to a peaceful solution and the cessation of hostilities and tomorrow's negotiations in Geneva should be seen in that light. Our views will not deviate from the preservation of the territorial integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina, with the protection of human rights on the entire territory of the country within its internationally recognized borders."

The studio announcer reads out the statement by the Republican Party [RP] of Bosnia-Herzegovina that "it supports the U.S. peace initiative for ending the war in the coming negotiations, but demands as a priority that Bosnia-Herzegovina be preserved within its internationally recognized borders. The RP also demands that the federal units of the country be allowed a high level of autonomy and that Sarajevo becomes a separate district under UN protectorate and control, [words indistinct]."

Correspondent Dzevad Kusman reports on a news conference by the Croatian Party of Right [HSP], which starts with the announcement that "with the crossing over of Croatian Democratic Community deputy [words indistinct] to the HSP, the HSP has become a parliamentary party in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly." Kusman cites HSP Deputy Chairman (Mato Matasin) as saying that "all the peace plans, including the Contact Group plan, have been based on not acknowledging aggression, so, in contravention to international law, the peace solutions have been sought through buying peace and at the same time partitioning the sovereign state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in addition to rewarding the aggressor with large chunks of our country's territory." He says that "the HSP warns the leading institutions

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

and bodies of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina that they have not been authorized by any constitution or legal document to sign or accept any kind of partition of the country."

SDA, GDS: U.S. Initiative 'Chance' for Peace

AU0709193695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A meeting was held today in Sarajevo between the delegations of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] and the Civic Democratic Party [GDS]. Samir Huseinovic reports on the meeting:

[Begin Huseinovic recording] The participants in the talks lacked neither the patience nor, it seems, the political wisdom in assessing the significance of the moment concerning the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mutual affinity was there regarding the basic principles on which the future Bosnia-Herzegovina society should be based, and the meeting was marked by constructive proposals and initiatives presented by both the SDA and the GDS.

The commitment to Bosnia-Herzegovina, which will be built upon civic principles with absolute respect for ethnic, religious, and all the other freedoms, is something that neither the GDS nor the SDA will abandon.

The SDA sees that chance for establishing such relations in the U.S. peace initiative, which will primarily enable a peaceful solution to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina within the internationally recognized borders, with the kind of internal organization that will provide the conditions for the reintegration of our country. The cracks caused by the war will, according to [SDA deputy chairman] Edhem Bicakcic, beleaguer the beginning of the process of reintegration, but that will not discourage those forces that see Bosnia as an integral state.

GDS chairman Ibro Spahic also expressed his conviction and the conviction of his party that peace will certainly provide the basis for this move. It was also said that the Federation should be implemented on the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the concept of local autonomy, which the Washington Agreement stipulates, should be applied. [passage omitted]

The SDA reiterated that it saw itself as a party of civic orientation. However, the SDA vision of what a citizen of Bosnia should be is not that he should be a hybrid citizen without any ethnic identity, [SDA secretary general] Mirsad Ceman said, a citizen without color or scent. Every citizen, or at least most of the citizens of, for example, France declare themselves as French, too, if not primarily as French.

The main task will be to preserve the political culture of a multiparty system, and wait for peace with a completely pluralistic structure, which will be the basis for a democratic Bosnia-Herzegovina in which human rights will be respected, and everyone knows what this implies in the democratic world. A civilly oriented Bosniak is a Bosniak, and why should that not be a part of his political and civilizational culture? [passage omitted] [end recording]

Interior Minister Views Aims, Functions

AU0809120395 Sarajevo DANI in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 95 pp 6-9, 64-65

[Interview with Bakir Alispahic, minister of internal affairs and member of the SDA Executive Board, by Vildana Selimbegovic; place and date not given: "Alispahic"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Selimbegovic] How would you assess the current cooperation between the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Alispahic] It is excellent. The elite MUP special force and B-H Army work together in operations of defense and the liberation of the country. In combat, the cooperation can be felt there best. Because of the nature of our job, we cooperate very closely with the Department of Military Security, where we have daily contact, as well as the cooperation in practice when we have to fulfill the same task. And that is, trust me, a good relationship. Should I point out, the police participated in the most crucial battles that the Army [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] has conducted: from Zuc, down to Mostar, and up to Tuzla, Bugojno.... I think that is a very important thing: I have a very good relationship with commander Delic, both officially and personally.

[Selimbegovic] However, until recently there were, let us say, incidents that could be the result of overlapping jurisdiction. For example: Travnik is "heavily populated" with both police and Army, so it was teeming with rather ugly scenes....

[Alispahic] This has occurred in a larger area. Therefore there is "Operation Trebevic," which started in Sarajevo, and now is finishing in Tuzla. We have begun investigations over there, as we had in Zenica, Travnik.... The effects are obvious, now there are no such cases in the area of Travnik, Vakuf, Bugojno, because we took some measures, put some people in custody, and instigated legal procedures against them, and in that way we have improved the situation. What happened in that period?

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

People, simply, thought that there was no law, no restraint, there was nobody to punish them. There was a kind of philosophy: It is wartime, everything is allowed. In that area it was even more explicit, because of the great concentration of refugees. Sparks can fly, as they say, in relations between the refugees and the locals; one can do reckless things when under the influence of alcohol. You see, unfortunately, we again have refugees, this time from Srebrenica and Zepa, but, it seems to me, we have made some advances and I think that we will be more prepared now.... Sometimes one can hear, I would say, complaining questions: "Where were the police when this or that was stolen?" All these are events relating to the initial phases of the war, when every able-bodied person joined the fighting.... People here in Sarajevo know that, as well as the people all over Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Selimbegovic] In those initial phases, the police were imputed to have a benign stand toward the criminals? In his interview to our magazine, Sefer Halilovic, may I say, reproached the MUP for it....

[Alispahic] I have been ready to talk about the MUP from the moment I took over. Regarding the situation before then, I can only offer my personal opinion. Whether I disobeyed the order to go to Mt. Igman, those who are supposed to know that, know it. I do not think it is the right moment to start a discussion, at least until we end this war successfully. However, in the case of Sefer, although we could spend more time talking about the phenomenon of relations between the MUP and the Army from that period, it is most probably, as we say, a question of the human factor. Sefer's frustrations as a commander are relevant, and, to some degree, the firm [illegible] of former minister Pusina to protect the MUP. Sefer's wish to subordinate the MUP to himself are more or less known; that is not acceptable and one can find that nowhere in the world. It is fair to say that two days after Sefer had issued an order to the Army to take Zlatiste, it fell. We can give you hard evidence of that. However, it is not nice if even a former commander of the Army tells an untruth. He should have told you about Faletici.... Although I had an exceptional relationship with him and good cooperation, it seems to me that it was a problem of personal relations. This is exclusively my opinion, although Sefer, when making his appraisal, consulted some people who are hostile toward this institution.

However, I think the two of us were on the same wavelength regarding Juka [Prazina]. Meanwhile, regarding some other army units that were out of the unified system of generalship and command, there were some crucial differences between his and my own stands.... Yesterday, I was in Mostar, and I was told about the way Juka had killed some of our best guys.... Thank God, it is all past.

[Selimbegovic] What is the cooperation between the MUP and the Presidency like? Are all the members of the Presidency alike, or are there differences between them?

[Alispahic] They should be asked that question.... The decisions made by the Presidency are what is important to us. You know, we get the decision from the Presidency and carry it out without wondering who voted for it or against it. I do not know what similarity you are thinking about. In the formal sense, of course they are equal. How much one contributed, it is not for me to judge. I think that people have their own opinion on that.

Silajdzic Is a Man After My Own Heart

[Selimbegovic] What do you think of President Izetbegovic?

[Alispahic] He has gone all the way from the originator of an idea, through a leader of a national movement, which the Party of Democratic Action was in the preelection and postelection period, to a political strategist and a statesman who is welcome in all the democratic countries of the world. Without doubt, Mr. Izetbegovic is today the first name in the political arena of Bosnia-Herzegovina; a politician and a statesman who, in the history of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosniak people, will be one of those personalities who characterized a whole epoch.

[Selimbegovic] And what is your opinion on Prime Minister Silajdzic?

[Alispahic] Privately, he is more a man after my own heart, perhaps even because I am burdened by the opinion that he, as prime minister, precisely because of his qualities, could do more. I appreciate all his characteristics, all his virtues, there is no doubt of that. But probably it must be my wish that he should do all he can to help the ministry through the government, and the government is powerless to do anything specific, isn't it? However, I am personally never satisfied with what I have, neither at work, nor with what I receive as a contribution from others.... We do have some equipment, but still we have no specialized equipment, subtle equipment, investigation equipment, equipment for crime experts. There is an immense amount of work before us, investigation of war crimes, the crimes of genocide, and particularly in that field we have to obtain the equipment. So far we have managed to renew to a certain degree a totally destroyed motor pool.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Selimbegovic] How do you manage to get the equipment at all? How much help do you get from the government?

[Alispahic] I do not know, so far there has been no particular government intervention on the whole, that is the government as an institution. I do not say that there was no intervention by the prime minister, there was. But the government, as the state body, which will one day put the Ministry of Internal Affairs onto its agenda, and say: Let us see what it needs, how it functions.... I do not ask anything special compared with the others, but comparing our role to that of others, regarding the sacrifice we make, unlike others, the Army excepted, I think that the ministry should get more attention. And I think Prime Minister Silajdzic has understood the role of the MUP, particularly after The Hague. Our influence was crucial in bringing those charges there. I believe the prime minister understood that, and that now he will give more attention to that section. [passage omitted]

I Will Fight for the Bosniak People Until the End

[Selimbegovic] Does your function allow you to advocate primarily the interests of the Bosniak nation?

[Alispahic] My function does not allow me that, I have to work in line with the law, with the rules, and treat all citizens the same way, respect them the same way. I do not think you could find anyone, at least I have no such information or complaint, that was maltreated only because of his nationality. If there is such a person, I would like to hear from him, but as a member of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action] Executive Board I will fight until the end for the Bosniak people, to let people know what has happened, who is the aggressor here, who has committed a crime, and why this crime has been committed. I think that happened only because the point in question is the Muslims.

[Selimbegovic] How do you cope with your functions? You are the minister of internal affairs in the government of the federation and a member of SDA Executive Board. Do you think that high police or army officials have the right to such involvement in a party?

[Alispahic] Well, you see, those are two different functions for me, two functions that have nothing in common, there is nothing in them to, shall I say, tear one apart in the sense of making decisions or of some inner feeling. When you are minister of the MUP, then you function according to the rules and laws of this country, you function as the system requires of you, you function as in all the countries in the world. And when you sit as a member of the Executive Board, discharging the office of a member of the party, you intervene there in political sense to adopt laws, legislation.... Now, we have a very important activity, we have forwarded that material to the government as well, to establish standards among members of the Armed Forces... What further contribution from the party is needed? By this, believe me, I will resolve the status of my members, policemen, because they are also a part of the Armed Forces. As far as I know, former ministers, I would not bring Mr. Pusina into any of this, had been currying favor with the SDA in other ways. I am a bit weary of it; I think I can distinguish between my party role, and my role as a minister. They were giving cars, everything.... My first conflict was with individuals, not with the SDA, if I had any conflict with the SDA, I would not be sitting on the Executive Board, when I cleared up the mess and said: There you are, return everything that belongs to the MUP. There was a little misunderstanding, but we solved it quickly, because it was a matter of principle. Nobody should squander what belongs to this house. That means that no MUP vehicle is to be placed at anyone's disposal. And not only vehicles, but also weapons, pistols, "Hechlers"....

All these have been distributed by those ministers so as to have someone keep it under his pillow or in the larder without even knowing how to use it. It was a total mess around here, believe me. It is more important for a policeman to have a gun, than someone who is considered to be a party member, of whatever party. And there is no party that does not suffer from this...

I Carry Out Policy of Government and Presidency

[Selimbegovic] Is it all right, in your opinion, that the highest military and police officials are so actively engaged in the policy of a party? Does that take us back into a one-party system, not to say into one-way thinking, as people like to complain?

[Alispahic] I have been thinking about this, and I am sorry that I did not prepare myself to show you some things that have to do with your question. But it is not something new, something one should make a lot of fuss about, or say what you said. In the West, many parties have their people, either as interior minister, or in the Congress... There are no rules, that is what we invent because we have probably been burdened with things from the past and with our frustrations. And as soon as a man is a member of a party, he is either partial, or he is not all right, or.... I do not carry out the policy of the SDA; I carry out the policy of the government and the Presidency, as the minister of internal affairs. The SDA, through its representatives [in the Assembly], incorporates its party interest in the laws and regulations, everywhere it is needed. In the party I will do everything I can to adjust the laws in the party's interest. But, when the law is passed, the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

SDA has nothing to do with it. I think your assessment that there are many of them like that, is superficial, for example in the MUP, there is me, as the minister and maybe one or two.... [passage omitted]

[Selimbegovic] Let us talk about the government. I am interested in the MUP's relations with the partner in the Federation.

[Alispahic] I will be straight with you: So far there are none. My eyes were directed at, and I have some hopes regarding the Izetbegovic-Tudjman meeting. I expect that we will move forward now. The preconditions exist: the Constitution, the Law on Government, and some general laws have been adopted. This could get things moving. I think the reasons for everything being stuck have been political. I think the preconditions to start have been created now....

What I appreciate as a policeman is where an appropriate climate for the Federation has been created in the territory under HVO [Croatian Defense Council] control, but they still fight the individuals who fiercely reject the Federation, who want "Herzeg-Bosnia" at any cost. They have armed conflicts, political retaliation, so that there are those who have not created these preconditions. That is why it has lasted so long. For example, I established the Federal Police as soon as I received the government's decision. The government makes a decision, I carry it out, but there is no Croat factor in the execution of the decision. Only Bosniak police, here and there a Croat or two, but in the territories under the control of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Nondomestic Attitude Toward State

[Selimbegovic] Does the Federal Police make sense then? What is the purpose of it?

[Alispahic] It makes sense only in the context of preparations for a task that will most likely be undertaken, so that the people have already run themselves in at the job. The largest part of the road between Doljani and Doboj is under the control of the Bosniak side.

[Selimbegovic] In the part that is under the control of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Alispahic] Yes. They have already brought it technically under control. Further, it seems to me that there is some use of that Federal Police on the ground itself. The police escorts for VIPs and delegations can be organized more easily.... Otherwise, the police like any other police, wherever it is, do their job, and I think it is useful. Jozo Leutar [Alispahic's deputy] has given me a call from Mostar; they have received some material resources, and some authorizations, he has just not told me the terms, to get the Croats quickly involved with the Federal Police.

[Selimbegovic] You have just mentioned your deputy. Does he discharge his office as the Deputy Minister of the MUP?

[Alispahic] No, he does not.

[Selimbegovic] Why?

[Alispahic] Well, his office is conditional, I think, upon the functioning of the ministry as a whole, upon the functioning of the federal ministry. As much as I claim not to be discharging my office as minister of the MUP in the territories under the control of the HVO, so he does not discharge his in the territory under control of the MUP of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and, unfortunately, that is a fact. To be frank, I do not have the impression that Jozo wants to do that. At least so far he has not expressed that wish. That what they have been doing so far was more a decorative function: Let us appoint some people to do something. It seems to me more like their wish to participate in the power in the territories under the control of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina; that what we have is for us, and this is going to be governed by all of us. It seems it was their political objective which they, probably, had to renounce in the Split Declaration. They simply wanted to come over here to the MUP and line up the Bosniaks and the Croats and say: That's it, now you should start to function.

Our people had problems when they were passing through the areas under the control of the HVO. I, myself, have had unpleasant experiences. And they just come over here and move around freely in Sarajevo. I have given MUP apartment to Jozo Leutar, with the best intention of getting things working. He has not even been to see that apartment yet; he agreed upon the location, but it is nicer at the hotel down there.... I think it is the government's fault, there is no doubt. There are apartments in the city, and I publicly told the government: These people must be given apartments. If Mr. Jadranko Prlic has an apartment in Mostar, he can be given an official apartment for his use when he discharges his office. But what we do to ourselves, our enemies would not do that to themselves. Is it because of the Holiday Inn hotel, or something else? I really do not know, but an immense quantity of money has been spent on their accommodation. Believe me, a normal person would not pay for a vacant room in German marks during the war. That is a nondomestic attitude toward the state.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Selimbegovic] People say that, when you passed through Kiseljak for the first time, you asked the policemen whether you were their minister, too. Is that true?

[Alispahic] I asked them wherever I went, not only in Kiseljak, and they said I wasn't. I understand, and everybody understands that. Now, it is up to the politics and the Croatian factor to finish with that. And I would like Jozo to ask the policemen of the MUP of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina whether they respect him as a friend and as the deputy minister; 99.99 percent would say yes.

[Selimbegovic] Are you satisfied with the ethnic structure of the MUP?

[Alispahic] The ethnic structure is a reflection of the overall situation in the country. You have seen that there has been a kind of national separation. What is the reason for that, is another thing. I think that there are people of character in the MUP, those who have stuck to the profession and branch of occupation, regardless of ethnic affiliation. In our MUP collegiate body we have a balanced national structure. We even, in the first year of my office, had a majority of Croats, some five or six crucial positions, which is a third of the Collegiate Body. My deputy is a Croat now, the secretary of the MUP is a Croat.

[Selimbegovic] But whereas the secretary discharges his office, the deputy, you said, does not.

[Alispahic] The secretary is one of those people who have been professional for a long time. [passage omitted]

Failed Political Conscience

[Selimbegovic] The segment of State Security. By a combination of circumstances, I am in possession of information that on the eve of aggression this service was acquiring data on the people who were more or less preparing the defense of this country. "Beretke" ["Berets" unit], Emin Svrakic, the late Dino Magoda, are mentioned.... Can we talk about this at all?

[Alispahic] Since it is a series of questions, I would like to start from the end. So, you should have asked the acting minister of internal affairs, at that time, your last question. Meanwhile, since I do have insight into what my predecessors were doing, particularly in the field of the State Security Department, I have to point out that it is true that data was also gathered on those people you mention. In formal terms, and from the legal position valid at the time those measures were undertaken, they were lawful. But the political conscience of those people who were then in charge of the service was lacking, and they displayed utter immaturity in their estimation of the approaching aggression.

Eavesdropping in Line With Constitution and Laws

[Selimbegovic] How does the service function today?

[Alispahic] The way the service is organized today, the content of its work, and the results that are being critically analyzed day by day, are the basis for the good marks that were, after all, given by President Izetbegovic, Prime Minister Silajdzic, and others. [passage omitted]

Preventative action that this service carries out toward people who are interesting from an intelligence viewpoint also extends to the citizens who knowingly or unknowingly come into contact with such persons. Such extension of our activity does not normally mark such a citizen as an enemy, as laymen often conclude. The purpose of preventive work is in fact that we somehow warn such citizens telling them how to cope with these and similar situations. Whether we check on people, since it is war, sure we do, everybody who is interesting in the security sense. I would like to say that this thing is organized in a very good way.

When in the Presidency I had some questions regarding the committee report, they actually talked about, let us say, our eavesdropping measures. It was determined, beyond doubt, that all the measures applied had been in line with the Constitution and laws. It is another matter if we have to justify that measure, or if we talk about who I, that is the service, deliver reports to. [passage omitted]

I think it works on behalf of the people, on behalf of the protection of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a whole. And I do not think it is nationally colored.

[Selimbegovic] Are there still files on intellectuals, are they still kept today? Does the category of ideologically "unfit" people still exist?

[Alispahic] We do not know about that category, neither in the ministry, nor in the State Security Service. We have not really had any such document or information. It is a highly professional state apparatus that works in line with the Constitution and law. During the course of the war we have had to deal with some informers, some spies, people of all nationalities, but I must say, mostly Serbian. A certain number of them are in prison, and everything is recorded, noted down officially. We send the case to the court, the court analyzes the materials, there is evidence, and the court is the one that decides. [passage omitted]

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Greeting Will Define Itself in Time

[Passage omitted] [Selimbegovic] What is your rank? The police have recently changed their system of ranks.

[Alispahic] I have no rank. I have come to the conclusion that at this moment we do not have to bother with that; we created ranks for lower police levels, because of hierarchy, subordination. One has to know who is superior to whom, who is to obey orders, and my assistants and I wear functional insignia. To recognize whether one is a minister or his deputy. It does not mean that one is a general, as people say.

[Selimbegovic] There are people ranked as brigadiers?

[Alispahic] That is the highest rank we have in the police now.

[Selimbegovic] Yes, but everybody is under "the set of people in power"?

[Alispahic] Doubtless, later on, we will have to analyze things and make a decision, in an atmosphere that will enable us to find a good solution. I do not believe there is a need for many high ranks in the police. [passage omitted]

I Fear No Challenge

[Selimbegovic] How close are we to European standards?

[Alispahic] I think one reaches too easily for European standards as the forms of organization and function. One should not underestimate our own experience, nor the standards applied outside Europe. Europe can be our ideal, the model in some things. But the police in England or France suffer from traditional syndromes on account of which human rights and citizen's liberties are often violated. Even today, in London or Paris you will see scenes of the police dealing, in a way by no means human, with protesters whose political options do not look nice to those in power.

In Sarajevo, which has been under siege for over three years, and where people live under minimal living conditions, which is the first precondition for an increase of crime, there is an incomparably smaller number of all kinds of criminal offenses than in the largest towns of the biggest and the richest countries of the West, of course, proportional to the number of citizens. I want to say that I think that in our commitments and legal solutions we have surpassed European standards in some matters, but that we also lag far behind them when the subject in question is contemporary organization, modern equipment, which is understandable in that they are far richer than we and that throughout history they have never suffered the aggression that we have. I would like to see European standards in practice in such a situation. I have had an opportunity to visit the FBI in America, and I am trying to integrate a lot of those experiences into the structure and organization of our ministry. I think that we should continue with the expert improvement of our personnel in other world police forces, because practice has shown that they return with valuable money and experience.

[Selimbegovic] Plans for the future: Is the MUP already preparing a strategy for work after the possible end of the war?

[Alispahic] Whatever we do today has a view to the Bosnia-Herzegovina of tomorrow. We have committed ourselves to the concept of a modern, efficient, and professional police, which will be able to answer all the challenges and tasks. With the collegiate body we have today, I am not afraid of any challenge. To work with such people as Dragan Vikic, Kemo Ademovic, Omer Stambolic, Zeljko Varunek, Nedzad Ugljen, Borisa Arnaut, Dragan Medjovic, Hatidza Colakovic, Husein Balic, Bakir Zaciragic, Reuf Jahic...is not only a pleasure, but also carries the assurance that every task will be carried out.

Croat, Muslim Army Commanders Discuss Cooperation

LD0709173395 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] High-ranking officers of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army held a meeting today to discuss the implementation of the Split Declaration. The two sides agreed that the results achieved so far in the implementation were good, and that more efforts will be invested into it.

The working meeting of the high-ranking officers of the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will resume tomorrow.

Vladimir Soljic, the defense minister of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, and Major General Tihomir Blaskic, the chief of HVO General Staff, today visited soldiers on the front lines of the Mostar operational area, accompanied by Maj. Gen. Nedjeljko Obradovic, the HVO commander of the Mostar operational area. They saw that the defense lines are firm and that morale is high, the Political Department of Herzeg-Bosnia's Defense Ministry has announced.

Let us hear what Defense Minister Soljic told our correspondent Milan Vega following the visit to the Stolac front line.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

[Begin recording] [Vega] You toured the Stolac front line today. Could you tell us what the reason for the visit was, unless it is a secret, of course.

[Soljic] These are our usual tasks, coupled with the additional task stemming from the Split talks, held, as you know, two days ago in Split between the highest representatives of the Republic of Croatia, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Vega] What exactly was discussed there?

[Soljic] I would prefer not to go into details. The talks resulted in certain tasks for the HVO, which it must carry out on its own, and it also must coordinate with the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. In line with that, today and tomorrow we are holding meetings with the highest ranking representatives of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

[Vega] These important meetings and talks between Croats and Bosniak Muslims are often held in Split. Why is that?

[Soljic] Split has so far been a lucky location. After every important meeting in Split the results in the field were excellent. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Army Spokesman on Effectiveness of NATO Bombing

BR0809083495 Copenhagen POLITIKEN in Danish 7 Sep 95 p 10

[Report on interview with Bosnian Army spokesman Ferid Buljubasic by Jens Holsoe in Sarajevo; no date given: "Bombing With Limited Results"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo—NATO will have to bomb for at least another three to four days before the Bosnian Serbs give way and begin to withdraw their heavy weapons from the heights around Sarajevo. These are the words of Bosnian Army spokesman Colonel Ferid Buljubasic, who gave his assessment of the situation in an interview with POLITIKEN.

There is pouring rain outside his office in a run-down building in the center of Sarajevo; the rain clouds cover the mountains and the Serb positions, so for once there is no accompaniment from the much feared snipers.

"It is General Ratko Mladic who has absolute control over the Bosnian Serb Army, BSA, there is no doubt about that. The fact that they did not start to shell Sarajevo in response to NATO bombing clearly shows that Mladic has assessed the situation correctly. He wants to test NATO's resolve, not provoke. He is trying by every means to buy himself time."

Professional

Buljubasic is a professional soldier from the Yugoslav Federal Army and knows both Mladic and the chief of the Yugoslav Army, General Momcil Peresic, personally.

"There is no doubt in my mind, that Peresic controls Mladic. He is the boss Mladic has to obey. We have to make a clear distinction between the military and the political leadership if we are going to understand what is happening among the Serbs. Politically there is a struggle between Slobodan Milosevic (the President of Serbia) and Radovan Karadzic (the Bosnian Serb leader). That is politics.

"Then there is the military side. Here it is Peresic who is in control. When Mladic remains obdurate and does not start to meet the NATO and UN demands, he has Peresic's blessing to do so."

Arms Dumps

Buljubasic is reluctant to assess the effect of NATO bombing thus far.

"They have hit several arms dumps, but no more than what the Yugoslav Army can replace with a single truck convoy. But the destruction of communications facilities, radar, and so on, has a certain effect. At the moment Mladic and Karadzic cannot communicate with the Banja Luka area in the north. The radio masts have been destroyed."

Buljubasic thinks that the reaction by NATO and the United Nations has been too little and too late. But he maintained throughout the interview that the Bosnian Government Army would not exploit NATO attacks to seize further territory. He categorically rejects the UN claim that the Bosnian Army fired several shells at Serb positions from inside Sarajevo on Tuesday evening.

Declining Morale

"Morale in the [Bosnian] Serb Army is declining all the time. The loss of Krajina has let the gas out of the Greater Serbia balloon. NATO bombings also drag the mood down. General poverty and the hopelessness of continuing war have also had an effect. But the Serbs are tough. A situation like the present one, where they have to dig in and wait, is something they know about. But I believe that in the course of three to four days they will give way and begin to withdraw their heavy weapons, which is the United Nations' first demand. But if NATO hesitates or gives them a new respite, they will think they have won."

Like most of the citizens of Sarajevo Buljubasic is thin and has black circles under his eyes, worn out by almost

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

four years of war and privation in the besieged city. But he, too, is tough.

Inaccurate Bombing

"I have just been on an inspection tour to Gorazde," he said.

He smilingly describes how he got into the besieged enclave in eastern Bosnia by marching two fingers across the desk. On foot. Three days through the mountains and forests and through two Serb front lines.

"NATO's bombings are not as precise as they say. At least not near Gorazde, where I saw the results. The soldiers they have on the ground and who illuminate the targets with laser beams so the bombs can hit them are not very good either."

Buljubasic concludes with his professional assessment.

"If there is no peace by the end of the year, the war will last at least another two years."

81st Division Comments

AU0709184595 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 7 Sep 95

[Report by the Information Service of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 81st Division from Gorazde]

[FBIS Translated Text] As we could see and hear in the theater of operations of the 81st Division, NATO planes have today continued to carry out their mission effectively.

Following the explosions early this morning, more of the same could be heard as soon as 0800 [0600 GMT] from the direction of Foca. Then, at 0900, eight missiles were fired at the area of Jahorina, and after 1300 several more attacks were registered.

At 1300 exactly, NATO attacked the military targets of Karadzic's and Mladic's paramilitary in the area of Ustikolina, at 1310 in the area of Pale and Mt. Trebevic, and at 1350 the planes fired six missiles in two sorties again at the area of Ustikolina. The early afternoon operations ended at 1430 with new attacks on the targets near Hotel Bistrica on Mt. Jahorina.

The planes flew over the area several more times. We can hear them at the moment of filing this report, and it is about 1700 now, but the division command has not yet collected the data on the targets of their latest sorties or the locations of their possible attacks.

Radio Rounds Up Combat Activities

AU0809115295 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Let us now round up the situation in the Bosnia-Herzegovina front:

At about 0600 [0400 GMT] this morning, Chetniks opened mortar and howitzer fire on Maglaj. Let us hear a report by the 3d Corps Press Center:

[Unidentified correspondent] That was an artillery preparation for a Chetnik infantry assault against Maglaj defenders lines on the right bank of the Bosna River. With an effective counterattack, Maglaj defenders rebuffed the assault by the Chetnik infantry and pushed them back to their initial positions. Considerable material damage to civilian buildings was caused in the town of Maglaj, but there were no casualties.

On the Tesanj-Doboj front, there was occasional tank fire from the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor and Karadzic's terrorists. On the Seric-Teslic section of the front, they fired a dozen mortar bombs at our defense lines, but without consequences. All the defense lines held by the 3d Corps fighters are firm and stable. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Compared with the previous days, the morning hours today in the Bihac District have been passing somewhat more peacefully. Muhamed Mulic has reported that the Chetniks have occasionally been firing artillery and tank rounds on the front defense lines and their fire from small arms and snipers may be called [words indistinct]. This morning, the enemy forces fired several shells at the free parts of Una-Sana Canton. Movements by enemy motor vehicles are still being registered and closely followed by the fighters of the 5th Corps and the Croatian Defense Council of the Bihac Region, who are ready to respond promptly to any enemy activity.

The latest NATO operations do not seem to have discouraged the aggressor's forces on the Posavina and Majevica front as they have continued artillery fire. Our defense lines and civilian targets in Bajici and Vitanovici have on several occasions been exposed to enemy mortar fire. Those same operations were carried out by the aggressor at [name indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Serb Government Orders Noncompliance With NATO

LD0709192495 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a session in Pale today the Serb Republic Government discussed the overall

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

situation in the republic, resulting from the massive military action and the direct involvement in the civil war by the intervention of [word indistinct] forces of some Western countries. A statement for the public, dispatched to the Serb news agency via the Ministry of Information, reads:

The statement from the session of the Serb Republic Government says that the eight days of the brutal action by the NATO Air Forces and the Rapid Reaction Force in the Serb Republic caused numerous civilian casualties and immeasurable damage on residential buildings, and some infrastructure, which was never used for military purposes, has been completely destroyed.

Even the bravest foreign reporters are not capable of sending the pictures testifying to the proportions of the brutal destruction and all the consequences of the aggression.

The government believes that, despite media and political manipulations, the aggression against the Serb Republic is unjustifiable; all the more so since the Serb Republic state leaders clearly expressed their commitment and the Serb people's willingness to take part in the peace process and find a solution without the use of force.

Those who have undertaken or have given their support to the criminal action against the Serb Republic have crossed the border into the sphere of moral disaster and have no right to pronounce the words of peace or preach in vain about human rights. In all future discussions about the responsibility for the crime committed after the Second World War, it will be impossible to leave out the direct participants in the Yugoslav crisis and those who caused the latest suffering of the whole of the Serb people.

Despite the crime which part of the international community has committed against the Serb people in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the government gives its unanimous support to the decision of the state leaders and the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army not to comply with the unprincipled ultimatums and the untenable demands put forward from the position of force. The government has concluded that the peace process should be resumed, with full respect for the Serb stances and equal treatment of all sides in conflict, and that the argument of force should be rejected as a hypocritical call for peace.

Mladic Reports 'Limited' NATO Success

LD0709135995 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1311 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 7 Sep (SRNA)—Two NATO warplanes carried out two air strikes on civilian targets in Han Pijesak at 0850 and 1130 [0650 and 0930 GMT] this morning, a SRNA correspondent on the spot has reported.

Five bombs of huge destructive power were fired on Serb targets. NATO pilots also opened fire from heavy machine guns and cannon from the air.

There are no details on possible casualties, but enormous fresh material damage has been caused.

Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army, told a SRNA journalist that "being unable to destroy the defenses of the Serb Republic, enemy warplanes began attacking civilian targets."

"NATO attacked our military targets, but its success on the ground was limited, and out of frustration and revenge, they attacked Serb civilian targets, including the dam in Visegrad," Gen. Mladic said.

Ruling SDS Party Discusses NATO Bombing

LD0709190295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1838 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 7 Sep (SRNA)—The members of the executive committee of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands [SDS SZ] held a session in Pale today at which they considered the content of the work of the party on the ground in connection with the NATO air strikes against the Serb Republic.

It was intended that the session of the executive committee of the SDS SZ should also discuss the realization of preparations for the session of the main committee and assembly of the SDS SZ.

More on SDS Session Discussion

LD0709205295 Pale Srpska Televiziya in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The first half of the 27th session of the Executive Committee of the Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands [SDS] was held in Pale today. Bearing in mind the newly created situation, Executive Committee members mainly discussed two items on the agenda: the current military and political situation in the [Bosnian] Serb Republic following the aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina and the way in

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

which the SDS should work in this difficult situation in the wake of NATO actions against military and civilian targets in the Serb Republic.

[Begin SDS Executive Committee President Velibor Ostojic recording] We discussed these topics in order to prepare for the continuation of the 27th session of the SDS Executive Committee, when party President Radovan Karadzic is due to attend. Today he could not attend the session due to urgent state business. We are also due to hold a main committee session and a long-awaited twice cancelled party assembly by the end of the month.

The executive committee concluded today that this was a brutal and unprecedented criminal NATO aggression on the Serb nation and that NATO had sided with the enemies of the Serb people, that is, with the Croat and Muslim side, and that it wanted to have a direct influence on the denouement of the events and the outcome of the clashes in the region.

The SDS will certainly have to undertake all measures and, in the next few days, will do everything to protect the people from panic and anxiety, and to protect them in the best possible way, and we shall urge the state bodies to undertake everything to ease people's lives.

We shall also consider how to achieve our goals with as few casualties as possible and to bring our business to a close in the best possible manner. [end recording]

Serbs Consent to Transit of Humanitarian Goods

LD0709222695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2148 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 7 Sep (SRNA)—Maksim Stanisic, deputy chairman of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic's state committee for relations with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], held talks at Sarajevo airport today with David Harland, UNPROFOR's head for civilian affairs. They discussed the normalization of the situation around Sarajevo.

Stanisic told SRNA that they discussed the issue of opening "the blue routes," the transport of humanitarian goods along the Kiseljak-Ilidza-Sarajevo road and the reestablishing of the infrastructure, gas, electricity, and water.

"We stressed that we consider valid the agreement on blue routes," which the Muslim side suspended, Stanisic said. He added that "the Serb side confirmed its consent to the daily transport of humanitarian goods along the agreed routes."

Stanisic stressed that "during the talks Serb representatives raised the issue of whether UNPROFOR is still acting within its mandate or whether it has relinquished everything to NATO or some other non-UN force." We expressed our fear that this is what has happened, Stanisic said, and he added that "this is the beginning of the end of UNPROFOR." [passage omitted]

RS: NATO, Croatia Attacking Western Bosnia

LD0809073495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0655 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 8 Sep (TANJUG)—NATO aircraft continued bombing the [Bosnian] Serb Republic this morning, hitting targets in the Ribnik region of Kljuc municipality in the west of the Serb Republic, TANJUG has learned from the Serb Republic's Information Center.

The same source said that in the attack, which began at 0615, three missiles were fired at civilian targets.

At 0552 the regular Croatian Army also began an artillery attack aimed at Drvar and Petrovac, towns in the vicinity of Kljuc.

There are no details yet of casualties or the extent of the material damage.

Croatians Attack in Drvar

LD0709211095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2046 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Sept. 7 (TANJUG)—Croatian artillery units on Thursday fired over 500 shells on the southwestern Bosnian Serb town of Drvar and civilian targets in its vicinity. There were no civilian casualties, but there was considerable material damage, TANJUG learned from Bosnian Serb Army sources.

Croatian units also attacked on other fronts close to Drvar, and the Glamoc and Grahovo front took the brunt of these attacks. Croatian forces suffered heavy losses, and 10 Croatian soldiers were killed at only one part of this front, near the village of Ticevo near Grahovo, the sources said.

Regular Croatian troops occupied Grahovo and Glamoc on July [word indistinct] towns where Bosnian Serbs had been the overwhelming majority population.

On the front around Bihac and Krupa, in northwestern Bosnia, attacks by the Muslim Army's 5th Corps continue unabated, the sources told Tanjug.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Radio Reports Civilian Targets 'Frequently' Hit

AU0709153395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Sep 95

[Report by Branislav Bozic from Banja Luka]

[FBIS Translated Text] Some time after 1200 [1000 GMT] today, 12 NATO squadrons were over the Serb Republic [RS], Serb military sources have reported. They repeatedly bombed Kalinovik, Srbinje, Visegrad, Sarajevo, Doboj, Pale, Sokolac, and Han Pijesak.

The PTT network, radio and television transmitters, and Serb positions are being systematically bombed; however, the bombs frequently land on civilian targets. The number of civilian casualties is speedily rising. It is difficult to establish the precise number, because much of the rubble has not been cleared and communication is difficult as civilian PTT lines are mostly out of order. A great number of radio and television transmitters have been destroyed, which means that communication via electronic media is getting increasingly difficult. Many of the people here have no access to even the basic utilities bulletins.

The information system is still holding up pretty well in the Banja Luka region. As in recent days, Croatian and Muslim forces are attempting to use the situation and are fiercely attacking on almost all demarcation lines. The town of Drvar is exposed to particularly fierce artillery fire; it is being shelled from multiple rocket launchers. The General Staff of the RS Army has assessed that all front lines are stable, morale is high, and the population is supporting the defenders. The impression is that people are telling themselves in these dramatic days: We must persevere.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Army Commander on Situation in Eastern Slavonia

AU0709124995 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 95 p 9

[Interview with Major General Djuro Decak, commander of the Osijek Military District, by Branko Vrbosic; place and date not given: "On the Danube This Year Already"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Vrbosic] The latest events have shown what the rebel "army" has at its disposal. To what extent is the command cadre from the so-called FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] represented in it? Is there anarchy on the temporarily occupied territories or is everything under the control of the military structures?

[Decak] Judging from intelligence information and also from the press, it appears that the so-called 11th Corps on the occupied part of the former Sector East is directly linked to the Yugoslav Army command structure, that in the meantime certain forces and even police have arrived from Serbia, and that in each installation one officer has been given the role of a political commissar. This means an improvement in the command structure; however, certain groups of "volunteers" who are making the chain of command more complex are still present there.

Commanders From Serbia

It is evident that there was a change in the commanding cadre at the top: The General Staff commander is now Colonel Slobodan Antonic, who arrived from the Yugoslav Army. Then there is Colonel Milan Peric, also from the Yugoslav Army. Evidently, they are trying to establish some subordination in relation to what has been happening before the arrival of these people. Namely, Osijek and other urban areas suffered random fire which can be characterized as an outright terrorist action. I am sure that there will be great problems in restraining these extremist volunteer groups. However, that is their problem; they are accountable for everything that is happening on the occupied territory just as I answer for the Croatian Army actions on the free territory.

[Vrbosic] A firmer organization also means a greater guarantee that there will be no "uncontrolled attacks" on the free territory of Slavonia. However, on the other hand, it also means an open admission that Serbia controls this territory, which complicates the solution of the occupation problem.

[Decak] Serbia has been stripped of its mask here. It is known exactly when and what arms and people arrived to the occupied part of Croatia. We informed the international factors about it, and the UN peacekeepers confirmed it, too. However, this is nothing new for us, the only difference is that this was now admitted publicly. Milosevic and Belgrade have been in charge even until the present time and this will also be the case in the future. [passage omitted]

[Vrbosic] Can one find a right negotiator among the rebel Serbs who would convey a possible "wink" from Belgrade?

[Decak] They have already received "the wink." However, we should expect that Milosevic will use this region as a trump card in the negotiations. This year Milosevic for the first time abandoned the role of a gray eminence and took the lead. By this he fulfilled two tasks with one stroke: He showed who is the leader of the Serbian people and put Karadzic into a subordinated position. The stick is now in Milosevic's hands and his interest is to keep a portion of the Serbs on the Croatian territory. We can discuss greater autonomy for this area; however, there can be no talk about the endangerment of the Croatian integrity.

We Expect Border Control From UNCRO

[Vrbosic] What is actually the role of the UN peacekeepers on the territory of east Croatia now?

[Decak] Their commander Van de Weghe replies, to each of my queries as to why he does not realize Resolution No. 981 (control of the state border between Croatia and Vojvodina), that he does not have sufficient forces. Second, there is the undefined status of "the peacekeepers" because any Chetnik can disarm them or impound their vehicle in the former Sector East. This only proved that the UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia [UNCRO] mandate in the area is unspecified. Resolutions say one thing; however, it cannot be realized in practice.

We expect control of the state border from the peacekeepers. Civilian observers should stay for a while because of "the blue zone" and also to gain an insight into the behavior of the Croatian state toward the people who will embrace the constitutional and legal order of the Republic of Croatia. How many of them will stay is another question. Taking the parameters from the exodus from the Croatian state territory in the Knin region, Banovina, and Lika, we can expect something similar here; however, the Croatian state does not support this. We offer a return to all people who do not fall into the category of war criminals, according to all international regulations. However, they are not fleeing from the Croatian state, which gives them all rights that the Serbs in Osijek and Zagreb have. They are fleeing from their conscience, from encountering neighbors, because

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

they know how they behaved over the last few years. It is their problem whether they will wait and live as equal citizens of this country. Naturally, each of us must account for everything that he did during this time or leave our state territory.

[Box, p 9]

Policy of Continuity

[Vrbosic] Would you like to comment on the current political events on the Croatian political scene as one of the prominent members of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ]?

[Decak] Many people, good politicians, who were skeptical about the HDZ policy felt the urge to take part in this process and help, not the HDZ, but the Croatian state, and I welcome this. I believe that politically they will work for the benefit of all of us, because we did not blackmail or court any of them.

Fear of a one-party rule? There is none, even though this cannot be all that bad; however, it definitely will not happen. The richness of democracy is that after four years each of us has to account for everything, however politics is politics. It is said that only a policy that stays in power and wins is a good one. We definitely proved to the "doubting Thomases" that the HDZ is consistent in the implementation of the policy with which it had won at the first elections, that it is seeking an optimal solution to achieve the integral Croatia as painlessly as possible, and that it will not diverge from this plan. Therefore, Croatia shall be one on the basis of a program that the HDZ offered in 1990. Our policy is constant and President Tudjman is making the moves of a genius. Remember that when we ventured into all this the world did not know us. Today we are an equal member of the international policy and, what is most important, since we have been a respected military power in this region, the democratic countries have counted on Croatia as a partner in all segments of life.

[Box, p 9]

Politically or Militarily

[Vrbosic] Do you believe that a peaceful reintegration is possible? Does it not sound almost utopian?

[Decak] If we look at the matter chronologically, it is true that we did not liberate a millimeter of the Croatian territory without the use of the Croatian Armed Forces. This has, nevertheless, seeped into the conscience of the people who are responsible for the fate of the nation on the occupied territory and it depends solely on them whether Croatia will have to activate its troops again or whether they will sit behind the negotiating table where much can be agreed. Our fundamental goal is not to shed blood on any side. However, it is unquestionable that Croatia shall reign on these territories in one way or the other. [passage omitted]

[Vrbosic] And all this will happen this year?

[Decak] This must happen this year without any doubt.

Z-4 Plan Seen as Solution in Eastern Slavonia

AU0809125095 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Sep 95 p 13

[Article by Vesna Vujic: "Political Solution"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The difficult situation in Bosnia does not leave the international negotiators a lot of time to discuss the status of eastern Slavonia. Even though this issue has been pushed aside by the NATO air strikes, this does not mean that it is considered less significant. The Croatian and Serbian sides have started withdrawing heavy weapons to 10 kilometers from the separation line, with the agreement that in the future, it will be 20 kilometers.

Croatian officials almost every day express their worries about eastern Slavonia in public. From Tudjman's statements that this part will be returned willy-nilly to the latest statement by Foreign Minister Mate Granic on "peaceful reintegration." He also allows a transitional period, which, according to his words, should be "less than two years." Representatives of the Krajina government in Belgrade, as they told us, would not like to communicate their final standpoint to the public in this moment. As they say, they are in the process of coordinating it with the state organs of Yugoslavia, on which the public will soon be informed.

Territories Can Be Exchanged

If one examines the events in eastern Krajina, one might conclude that this problem will be solved through a political agreement, which, on the other hand, does not necessarily mean that it will be easy to reach. Experts for international law agree that this issue is primarily a political one and that it is hard to find an analogous example in history.

In the opinion of Milan Paunovic, professor of international law at the Belgrade Law School, the status of eastern Slavonia could maybe be solved through a partial reformulation of, or changes in, the "Z-4" plan by applying the status that was intended for Knin Krajina on eastern Slavonia in a modified way.

That concretely means an establishment of a high degree of autonomy, that is, statehood, within Croatia. That implies local police, judiciary, money, as was anticipated

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

for western Krajina. In the original "Z-4" plan, which was not planned for eastern Slavonia because, among other things, it respected the ethnic structure before the war, which had not been to the advantage of the Serbs. Things have changed significantly by the change in the political situation. The new ethnic structure in eastern Slavonia must unfortunately be respected because of the aggression of Croatia on Knin Krajina and the exodus of Serbs, as this expert pointed out.

International Protectorate

He stresses that the status of this territory is to be solved in international negotiations of states, within internationally recognized borders. Since, as he pointed put, he is not acquainted with the contents of the talks between the representatives of the international community, Milosevic, and Tudjman, it is hard to say in which direction the search of a solution will go. In any case, according to international law, it is not disputable that territories within internationally recognized borders can be exchanged by signing an international contract.

Konstantin Obradovic, from the Institute for International Politics and Economy, draws the attention to the importance of ethnic structure. He believes that the solution will probably be looked for within the "Z-4" plan. Placing eastern Slavonia under an international protectorate is now less likely.

Ranko Petkovic, president of the Yugoslav Association for International Law, gives a more detailed explanation.

After the Croatian Blitzkrieg against the so-called UN-protected areas (Sectors West, South, and North), which represented the parts of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, the issue of Sector East, namely the part that encloses Baranja, eastern Slavonia, and western Srem, remained open. What can be the destiny of this territory in the coming negotiations, or in conflicts which might occur?

Our interlocutor says that, in the first place, with regard to the statements of Zagreb officials, saying that they will reintegrate these territories in the constitutional system of Croatia willy-nilly, the possibility of another Croatian Blitzkrieg cannot be ruled out. However, that possibility is limited because of the pressure of the great powers on Croatia with the message that they must not do that because of the fact that ıe peace talks are presently going on, and, eventually, because of the fact that these territories directly lean on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Second, Petkovic believes that it is possible to implement a variant of the transitional solution for that territory, predicted by the plan of the "Zagreb-4" group, for the duration of five years. Neutralization, demilitarization, and international administration, combined with competences of local protagonists, belong to such, or a similar, solution.

As the closest example of that sort of international formula, Petkovic mentions the establishment of the Free Territory of Triest after World War II as a disputable territory between Yugoslavia and Italy. The original decision on establishing the Free Territory of Triest provided for it to be under the direct government of the UN Security Council, which had to appoint its governor, but that never came true.

At the end, Petkovic explains, zone "A" went to Italy and zone "B" to Yugoslavia. That was decided after a lot of efforts by the Memorandum on Agreement adopted in London in 1954 and later confirmed through the Osim Agreements ["Osimski Sporazumi"].

Ranko Petkovic has a third solution for eastern Slavonia in mind. Namely, he says it is possible to reach a direct agreement between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (representing the interests of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, but also its own direct interests) and the Republic of Croatia, about that territory.

Citizens Support Opatija Joining Istria

95BA0329A Split FERAL TRIBUNE in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jul 95 pp 18-19

[Article by Domagoj Horvat: "Abbazia Contra Tutti!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"Opatija against everyone"—this will be the epilogue to the "beach affair," which has inflamed passions in the "Pearl of the Kvarner." Specifically, Radovan Toncinic, director of the Rivijera municipal enterprise, has divided the most popular beach into Zones A, B, and C and prohibited swimming unless one rents a lounge chair and umbrella for 50 kunas per person. Undesirables are chased from the beach by members of the "Croatian Tigers" and the local police, and the people of Opatija consider such arrogance insupportable. "This has to do with an influx of Herzegovinan capital, operating on the principle of 'take the money and run,'" says Opatija Mayor Axel Luttenberger, announcing the scheduling of a referendum to allow Opatija to secede from Primorska-Goranska Zupanija and join Istria Zupanija.*

The angry announcement by Opatija Mayor Axel Luttenberger, the petitions by Opatija citizens, bureaucratic indifference in conjunction with the primitive model of business behavior exhibited by Herzegovinan capital, and the political ambitions of the IDS [Istrian Democratic Assembly] slowly emerging behind the already typical phenomenological essence of the "most democratic state in the world" are only the superficially

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

sketched lines of force in a dispute that will apparently serve as a pretext for the detachment of the City of Opatija from Primorska-Goranska Zupanija and its long-awaited annexation to Istria Zupanija. "We would all be better off there!," this was the opinion expressed by Opatijans commenting on the recent events.

The whole imbroglio began when Opatija's most popular beach, Slatina, was given a makeover and literally began to sparkle, with a radiance that is unusual for Croatian tourism facilities. Umbrellas, lounge chairs, lavish restaurant and hotel offerings, free admission for bathers.... All of this ensured a "long, hot, pleasant summer" for the already present tourists and local populace.

Stupid Excuses

But the idyll was of short duration. Its end was caused by a decision by the director of the recently privatized Rivijera public municipal enterprise, Radovan Toncinic, under which "all these domestic gypsies in their rags must be removed from the beach" and swimming at Slatina is banned unless one uses a lounge chair and umbrella at a price of 50 kunas per person! Using legal vocabulary, we would place this act under the criminal category of extortion, and a similar view is held by Opatija Mayor Dr. Axel Luttenberger. Voicing his sympathy with the content of a petition through which the Opatijans have protested such treatment, he said, "Everything began with the very dubious transformation of the Rivijera public municipal enterprise, which was bought by the Monting Energetika company in Zagreb. Naturally, the dispatch with which the transformation was carried out seemed very suspicious to the City of Opatija, which is responsible for municipal services, and because of that we attempted to learn the background of the so-called transformation of this enterprise. Unfortunately, we were systematically thwarted in this by the director of the regional Fund for Privatization, Franjo Svob, who denied us access to the most important document relating to the transformation, the appraisal of the enterprise's value, providing the stupid excuse that it is not a public document."

[Horvat] Does that mean that the owner is unknown?

[Luttenberger] No, it is utterly clear that this has to do with Herzegovinan capital operating on the principle of "take the money and run." It is true that we are only partially familiar with the overall background of the transformation, but the thing that can be concluded with certainty is that the cause of this problem with Slatina Beach is in fact the desire for individuals under the patronage of state institutions to take control over all the most important beaches in the Opatija area, such as Slatina, Lido, Tomasevec....

[Horvat] What purpose does that serve?

[Luttenberger] To control the abundant revenues and deny the Opatija city council the right to shape this city's tourist image! The IDS is in power here and that bothers many people, and you know who. It is necessary to systematically marginalize our influence and reputation in this region. An especially important role in this has been played by Captain Branko Kundih, head of the zupanija Office for Coastal Affairs, who under the nebulous definition of coastal resources as "land under the concrete slabs of bathing beaches" approved Rivijera's concession and in fact permitted the privatization of coastal resources, which is impossible from the legal standpoint. We too sought a concession for the economic use of coastal resources, which was not approved, but which would have been the most logical thing because the beaches fall under the jurisdiction of local governments.

Feudal Sheriffs

The Opatija mayor says that it is not a question of a lower bid; rather, the motivation lies elsewhere, something indicated by the fact that Capt. Kundih subsequently lowered the amount of concessionary compensation by 70 percent, so that for 50 kunas a day Rivijera becomes the feudal lord and sheriff of all Opatija beaches. "We have already taken some steps," says Luttenberger, "and at the very next meeting of the city council we could be taking an even more radical one, calling for a referendum in which the citizens of Opatija would express their opinion on the status of the City of Opatija in Primorska-Goranska Zupanija. All the legal preconditions are in place for a referendum, and I believe that the moral ones are as well!"

We tried to discuss all this with Rivijera director Radovan Toncinic, who cited his "too-busy work schedule" to suggest completely different reasons for avoiding journalists. But it appears that his positions are utterly clear to Opatijans. "A man who boasts that he has seen more than half of the world behaves as if he has not gone any further than Ucka!," the Opatijans will claim in near unison at the meeting hastily convened by Mayor Luttenberger to address these events, while declaring that the arrogance with which Toncinic is destroying the Opatijans' centuries-old tradition of bathing at the "little pier under the Hotel Jadran" is intolerable.

"Tigers" for the Lowly Subjects

Toncinic has divided the beach into Zones A, B, and C, the last of which is set off by a fragrant enclosure of nearby garbage cans and sewage drains, while all swimmers who ignore his order and swim without renting (!) a lounge chair and umbrella for 50 kunas

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

are run off with the help of members of the defense organizations "Shield" and "Croatian Tiger," and by the local police. Opatijan Nikola Turina was present at one such encounter. He says, "The situation is almost unbearable. I want for myself only two square meters and nothing more, but I can't have even that even though I've been swimming at Slatina for more than 30 years. We do not bear malice toward anyone, but simply demand that we be allowed to choose freely where we swim, naturally while respecting director Toncinic's business interests. It doesn't matter, they chase us away and insult us, and the spectacle of domestic but also foreign tourists being chased off by guards is more than detrimental to Opatija's tourist image. Just go look at Slatina now at 1100. It is half empty, and that has never happened in its history. Ultimately it seems to me that that is part of the reason for this sort of behavior by Mr. Toncinic."

Opatijans suggest that the Slatina facility was a big investment, and because the beginning of the season was not that good, the fear of financial collapse prompted Toncinic to protect his interests, but "in such a crude and insulting way that the mind boggles." Now they expect protection from the municipal institutions, which are not in a position to provide that, however. Asked what he thinks of Mayor Luttenberger's threat to separate Opatija from Primorska-Goranska Zupanija, with the qualification that he express only his own opinion, Nikola Turina says, "That would certainly be better for us. Istria Zupanija is investing more money in tourism and doing so more reasonably and systematically, and things like this certainly would not happen to us. As far as a referendum is concerned, I think that it would affirm my opinion!"

As Zagreb Says

Many in Opatija believe that a referendum is more than certain, and although they are aware that the IDS is trying to capitalize politically and territorially on the failings of Primorska-Goranska Zupanija in its treatment of the City of Opatija, almost without exception they regard this as the right move, because "we've had enough of the Herzegovinans!" For now, the mayor of Opatija only smiles enigmatically at questions about the referendum and the citizens' attitude, adding that "Primorska-Goranska Zupanija is falling apart politically and organizationally anyway."

Those who are well acquainted with the local situation say that the timing of the "campaign" is well chosen and that there should be no question about the success of the referendum. The problem is that the result must receive the blessing of the Assembly in order for secession to actually take place. And the standing of Opatija's beaches in Zagreb is pretty well known.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Talbott, Lake Give Assurances of NATO Enlargement

LD0809102895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0900 GMT 8 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] National Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski, who is paying an official visit to the United States, has said that Poland cannot wait longer than until next year for a NATO decision on its enlargement.

After his talks with Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott and National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, Minister Okonski said that both of his interlocutors gave assurances that the process of NATO enlargement is irreversible and that Poland will be one of the first states to be admitted to the enlarged alliance.

Today, Minister Okonski will pay a visit to West Point Military Academy, and tomorrow he will go to New York.

Official Interviewed on Integration

WS0709142195 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 7 Sep 95 p 2

[Interview with Polish Deputy Defense Minister Andrzej Karkoszka by Artur Domoslawski; place and date not given: "It Is Worth Asking"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Domoslawski] Do you want a national debate on Poland's entry into NATO? Are you putting in question our participation in the organization?

[Karkoszka] The meaning of my statement was different. Our integration with NATO, as the main goal of Polish security policy, has already been decided by the state authorities and approved by the people (approximately 80 percent of respondents support it in public opinion polls). On Tuesday Sejm Defense Commission Chairman Jerzy Szmajdzinski (of the Democratic Left Alliance—SLD) made a reference to the concept I presented two years ago—a debate on NATO in the Sejm, in political parties. I responded to that.

[Domoslawski] Here is what you said: "We have to know how the people will react if our troops are sent, for example, to Bosnia, where they will have to fight." However, entry into NATO entails agreement to the participation of Polish soldiers in military actions of the organization. Thus, a national debate would put in question Poland's integration with NATO.

[Karkoszka] It was my mistake; today I would formulate this differently. What I wanted to say was that, as a member of the UN, Poland takes part in peacekeeping missions, which means that our soldiers guard, for example, neutral zones but do not take part in combat. However, together with NATO and the Western European Union, we are preparing for activities the purpose of which would be imposition of peace by force. Thus, the following question arises: Are the authorities entitled to make such commitments before we join NATO?

[Domoslawski] However, can a national debate lead to rational solutions in this case? Emotional arguments are likely to be presented, such as "our boys, Polish blood..."

[Karkoszka] Even though Poland's membership in NATO is beyond discussion, we must make the people aware of the commitments it involves. Such a discussion might also help gain more support for reforms in the Armed Forces. There is no such support right now. Politicians are afraid to say that expenditures on the Armed Forces must be increased.

[Domoslawski] Perhaps as a result of such a national debate fewer people would approve of our integration with NATO?

[Karkoszka] If it turned out that politicians are unable to prove to the people that it is worthwhile to join NATO, it is not worthwhile to join the organization. The security of our country will improve considerably when Poland joins NATO. No one will any longer think about Poland as a twilight zone. Western companies will be more eager to make investments here.

[Domoslawski] Did you discuss your idea with Minister Okonski, who happens to be holding talks on NATO in Washington?

[Karkoszka] These are my personal views. It was not an official initiative or some special idea.

[Domoslawski] Now, do you personally support the idea of Polish soldiers participating in international military actions?

[Karkoszka] For our future partners, this is the best test of Poland's credibility. We must earmark some money, make some efforts, and perhaps sacrifice some of our blood to obtain security guarantees from NATO.

[Domoslawski] The president suggested on Wednesday that you represent forces that would prefer to delay rather than speed up our integration with NATO.

[Karkoszka] If the president had checked what I had been doing over the past years, if he had read my articles on NATO, and if he had asked my interlocutors in Brussels, Washington, and Bonn a few questions, he would not have said that.

[Domoslawski] Are you linked to the SLD?

[Karkoszka] Today I am not linked to any party, and I am pursuing the same pro-NATO policy as my

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

predecessor in office, Jerzy Milewski, did. The president thinks I am linked to the left wing most probably because it was Prime Minister Oleksy who submitted by candidacy. I do not hide my acquaintanceship with the prime minister. Incidentally, he was the one who criticized me the most.

* * *

Andrzej Karkoszka became deputy minister of defense last June. Before that, he was head of the International Security Department in the National Defense Ministry. He is a civilian expert on armament and disarmament. In 1977 he obtained a doctorate at the Polish Institute of International Affairs. He was declared persona non grata in all NATO states. In 1992 this "item" was crossed off the lists on the motion of the United States.

Belarus Militia Blocks TU Leader's Visit to Warsaw

LD0709203995 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 7 Sep 95

[Relayed by TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Belarus militia has refused to let the leader of the free trade unions [TU's] in Belarus cross the border into Poland. Gennadiy Bykov intended to address a news conference in Warsaw to tell the public about the persecution of trade unionists by the authorities in Minsk.

Correspondents waited in vain at Solidarity headquarters in Warsaw for the Belarusian trade unionists. Bykov had tried unsuccessfully to get through at two border-crossing points during the night. A fax arrived from the Minsk headquarters of the free trade union, which was suspended by the president last week. The presidential decree is contrary to the constitutional order and is the beginning of a dictatorship, the Belarusian trade unionists write. [passage omitted]

Finally, a substitute news conference took place over the telephone at Solidarity headquarters, but only with Bykov's colleagues.

[Begin recording] [Solidarity press spokesman Piotr Zak] Now tell everybody what kind of help you expect from Solidarity, from our trade union.

[Valeryy Buyval, Belarus Free Trade Union] Moral support, above all, [words indistinct], the sending of cables to our trade union, to the authorities, to the president, and of information to the world at large. [end recording]

The Polish trade unionists undertook to support their Belarusian colleagues morally and materially, to repay the debt to all those who had supported Solidarity in its struggle against the communist authorities in Poland.

Oleksy: Army To Get More From Next Year's Budget

LD0709165895 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1600 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy has announced that the Army will get 82 trillion old zlotys in next year's budget—that is, 17 trillion more than originally planned.

During a news conference organized at the end of Oleksy's visit to the arms-industry trade fair in Kielce, the prime minister gave the assurance that the financing of the Partnership for Peace program would be excluded from the Army's budget.

The prime minister said a new program was being drawn up for arms-industry plants. He stressed, however, that these plants should adapt themselves to the conditions dictated by the free market.

PT-91, Gorilla Battle Tanks Described

BR0609105695 Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German Aug 95 pp 62-63

[Report by Rolf Hilmes, scientific director at the Mannheim-based Federal Academy of Army Administration and Defense Technology: "Tank Development in Poland: Ambitious Plans on Empty Coffers"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Early in the 1980's, Poland was granted a license to build the Soviet T-72 battle tank, of which it has since manufactured approximately 1,600, about 800 of which were for its own needs. A few months ago, the Bumar tank factory at Labedy, near Gliwice, Silesia, presented its own battle-performance enhanced version of the base T-72 M1. This variant's Polish designation is the PT-91, although it is also known internally as Tvardy (the tough). This reflects the fact that the modifications have been overwhelmingly aimed at enhancing the tank's survival capability, with lower priority accorded to improving firepower and mobility. An even more ambitious project is the development of a completely new design of battle tank, with which the firm departs in certain areas from the basis of Russian tank technology and follows its own line of development. The new model has already been designated "Gorilla," despite the fact that Poland is still looking for foreign investors needed to realize this new development. Although Poland needs to update its tank stock, it is not yet clear how this can be achieved, given the country's severe economic and financial problems.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Battle-Performance Enhancement Measures in PT-91

1. Firepower

—A new SKO-1M/DRAWA fire-directing system with an electronic computer.

—Installation of a new heat image system, produced by El-Op of Israel as a night vision system for accurate targeting, replacing the old TPN-1 IR image sensor; mechanical linkage to the TPD-K1 main targeting system provided.

2. Mobility

—Installation of an enhanced-performance type S-12-U engine (giving 625 kW instead of 575 kW); adaptation of the cooling system to this higher engine power; a KD-34 test engine with two exhaust turbochargers and nominal power of 735 KW is reported by Poland to be under development.

—Fitting of a larger fuel tank, enabling the range of travel to be increased from 370 to approximately 650 km (on roads).

—Use of new track chains with replaceable drive pads.

3. Armor/Survival Capability

—The T-72 M1's basic armor plating has been partially reinforced.

—Reactive armor plating developed in Poland is being used to provide additional protection: Type ERAWA-1, located in the zone of the track skirts, has one explosive foil, and type ERAWA-2, on the turret and cabin, has two explosive foils. The overall effect of these Polish adaptations is to achieve greater cover than that provided by the Russian components.

—Four laser warning sensors are located on the turret.

—The tank is to be partially covered with a layer of radar-absorbing coating.

—The PT-91 has a missile launcher with 12 launching tubes on each of the two sides of the turret.

—An improved ABC [atomic, biological, chemical warfare] protective ventilation system is being fitted.

—A new fire-extinguishing system is being fitted in the combat and engine zones (in the combat zone, this will be a fire prevention system with optical sensors).

—The driver's protection against mines has been improved (by attaching the seat column to the roof of the cabin, rather than to the floor).

4. Drive

—The tank commander and driver have a new night vision system (a low-light amplifier); the driver's PNK-72 system has a range of approximately 400 m with a cloudless sky.

—The tank has a new radio system.

—The driver has a new display.

Gorilla: New Battle Tank Design

The Gorilla battle tank is a turret design, with a crew of three and a rear engine. The driver sits on the left of the cabin (unlike the T-72); the commander sits on the left of the turret, with the gunner to his right, alongside the main gun (in a parallel turret). The crew's locations and other details show great similarities with the French Leclerc battle tank. Probably for reasons of logistics, the Polish model retains the Russian 125-mm plain-end pipe cannon; Poland was recently granted a license to manufacture the 9-M-119 Svir guided missile (known to NATO as the AT-11 Sniper), which can be fired from this cannon. The corresponding automatic loading system also derives from the T-72 program. Secondary weaponry, in addition to a visor machine gun parallel to the axis, consists of a vertically mounted antiaircraft machine gun on the roof of the turret, viewed by the commander through his panoramic periscope. This periscope may be produced by French manufacturer SFIM.

The components providing mobility also continue to derive to some degree from Russian technology, an example being the new V-12 diesel engine (with 735 kW nominal power), which is developed from the T-72 engine. It owes its improved performance partially to its two exhaust superchargers and at modernized injection system. A test engine is currently undergoing trials at the PZL Wola company in Warsaw. Its cooling system will differ radically from that of the T-72.

The new model's turret and cabin are totally new designs. Its smooth sides are the result of modern multilayer compound armor plating. This involves a layer of ceramic to prevent KE [expansion not given] penetration, with externally adaptable reactive armor plating primarily for defense against hollow charges. The use of radar absorbing material (RAM) is intended to provide stealth characteristics. The Gorilla's complete armor plating will give it a combat weight of 52-55 tonnes. The project could go into full-scale development before the end of 1995, subject to Poland's finding foreign investors. Even recourse to components that to some extent already exist would put the cost of series production in the region of 500 million German marks [DM].

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Evaluation of Both Projects

To limit the cost of reequipping, Poland has not taken the opportunity to use tube-launched guided missiles. This has meant rejecting the scope for giving the PT-91 antihelicopter defense capacity. If Poland has no access to the new KE ammunition with uranium-enriched penetrators, it will not be possible to increase end-ballistic power over that of the T-72 M1.

The increase in engine power, while retaining the V-12 diesel engine, may well mean that the engine has reached its thermic and mechanical limits. The running efficiency and reliability of the new engine will increasingly be determined by the expertise of the driver.

The laser warning system shows its worth in the event the tank is threatened by laser-beam-rider guided missiles or by guided artillery shells from cannons, using laser designators. A major threat to the tank by hostile battle tanks (with laser range finding) does not give the crew the reaction time needed between detection of the laser impulse and impact of the shell. Even a threat from laser-beam-rider guided missiles is likely to limit the system's effectiveness if the guide beam is not interrupted until approximately 50-70 m from the target. Even radar-absorbent coating is unlikely to have any significant effect because ample reflective surfaces are provided by such numerous layers.

The fire prevention system used in the combat zone does not provide any protection against hits from propellant charges or ammunition. As shown in the 1991 Gulf war, this vulnerability to secondary damage is a major weakness in the T-72.

It is generally accepted in tank technology that deviations from existing designs need careful examination in terms of possible consequences. This is particularly true of the T-72 battle tank, which is distinguished by its extremely high component density. This prevents the installation of large or additional components in the combat or engine zone. Improvements can, however, be readily achieved, as shown with the PT-91, by the use of components embodying state-of-the-art technology. Nonetheless, the PT-91 cannot compete with modern Western battle tanks in such areas as reaction time, night combat capability, ergonomic factors, operational comfort, and material durability. However, given its unit price of $2 million (about DM3.4 million), the PT-91 will, under operational conditions, have benefits that should not be underestimated.

In addition to its use by the Polish Army, Poland is certainly hoping to sell the tank internationally, with Pakistan among the markets currently targeted. The Polish Army is reported to have placed an initial order of 10 tanks for testing; these will be equipped to the level of the PT-91.

Poland's primary and long-term aim in developing a new battle tank, in the form of the Gorilla, is to avoid the expense of purchasing a foreign product, while also maintaining in the country the know-how it still possesses. Poland remains heavily dependent on cooperation with Western countries, however, for optical and electronic components. The foreign financial support it hopes to obtain will certainly not come from Europe, where every country's priority is to maintain its major key technologies at home. It seems very doubtful whether other, more solvent backers, possibly from the Middle East, would incur the risk of investing in a country that has never before developed from scratch a battle tank of its own; the problems encountered by India serve as a powerful warning. If the former members of the Warsaw Pact (excluding Russia) do not over the next few years succeed in collaborating in such a project, plans of this kind are unlikely to be worth the paper they are written on.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Iliescu's Reconciliation Initiative With Hungary

Melescanu on OSCE Response

AU0809093495 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1922 GMT 7 Sep 95

[Statements by Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu at Bucharest Baneasa airport on 7 September, upon his return from Vienna OSCE meeting—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] A short time ago, Romania's Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu returned from Vienna where he attended the OSCE Permanent Council meeting.

[Melescanu] As is known, the major goal of my participation in the Vienna OSCE Permanent Council meeting was to present to the participants the initiative regarding the historic reconciliation between Romania and Hungary, an initiative recently launched by Romania's President Ion Iliescu.

I would like to state, from the very beginning, that I am extremely pleased with the very favorable reception of Romania's initiative, with the extremely positive response that I perceived from all delegates who took the floor, delegates who spoke both in their own name as well as in the name of several countries, because some collective stands were voiced, first of all on behalf of the European Union.

I would like to mention briefly some very rapid reactions that I noticed still at that stage; namely, the fact that this initiative of Romania's president was considered as one of the most important contributions to building a new system of security in Europe, a contribution made to continuously promoting the idea of a pact of stability, and also a very important contribution to promoting the role of the OSCE. The fact that this was the first organization to which Romania presented its proposal was assessed by everybody as a reassertion of the interest and importance that Romania attaches to the role of pioneer in the OSCE's preventive diplomacy.

I would also like to stress the fact that this Romanian initiative was considered as a way of sanctioning and giving concrete shape to a constant preoccupation of Romania to promoting the principle of good neighborliness.

I could also say that, as far as the substance of the initiative is concerned, everybody referred to the extremely open, generous, and flexible fashion in which it was formulated, to the fact that the Romanian president's proposal is not accompanied by any conditions or rigid schemes for its implementation.

And I would like to conclude these few words by quoting something of the address made by Hungary's representative to the OSCE who said that, as a matter of fact, this initiative shows very clearly that there are no differences or disputes between Romania and Hungary, there is only a historic heritage, which we can overcome together.

[Announcer] Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu also held a news conference in Vienna. One of the major issues of the news conference was the problem of the text of the basic Romanian-Hungarian political treaty. At the news conference, Teodor Melescanu was asked by an AFP representative whether the inclusion or noninclusion of Recommendation 1201 in the text of the Romanian-Hungarian treaty is the major obstacle in finalizing the treaty. Upon his return to Bucharest, Teodor Melescanu was asked by the Romanian correspondents at Baneasa airport to make some statements regarding this.

[Melescanu] I would say that, in fact, this is not the major obstacle. The differences between us or the difficulty that we encounter is connected with the issue of having the treaty reflect or not reflect or having the treaty include or not include the right to territorial autonomy on ethnic grounds, on which our Hungarian colleagues insist and which we have not accepted. Then I was asked whether there is a possibility of compromise. I said that there is always the possibility of compromise, and I think that this can be achieved by making reference in the treaty to the importance that the two sides attach to the development of local autonomy, as a fundamental institution that is also included in Romania's Constitution, and to the regional decentralization in general of activities, also a fundamental institution stipulated by our constitution. Thus, I can confirm that I mentioned both the issue of local autonomy and the issue of the decentralization of services.

Reconciliation Effort Criticized

AU0809071295 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 1 Sep 95 p 1

[Editorial by Ion Cristoiu: "What Would I Tell My Boss, Ion Iliescu?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In his addresses to the opening session of the symposium devoted to the 55th anniversary of the Vienna Diktat, President Ion Iliescu suggested to the Budapest leadership "to move together, as soon as possible, to working on and signing a political document on an historic reconciliation between Romania and Hungary." In the president's view, the model would be the already famous reconciliation between France and Germany after World War II. Judging by the solemnity that the president wished to invest in this

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

proposal and by the hullabaloo immediately started by radio and television, as well as by the pro-presidential and pro-governmental press, Ion Iliescu must have considered this a major political gesture. I have already seen in films, as have all our readers, that before setting up such actions, American presidents call in their top aides and discuss the possible results with them. Knowing that Ion Iliescu is a great admirer of the American style, I thought that this is how he had proceeded before launching the proposal. And since COTIDIANUL anyway has written that I have become an advisor at Cotroceni [presidential palace], I started to reflect on what I would have said to my boss, Ion Iliescu, if I could have made him tear his eyes away from the gorgeous Rodica Becleanu to my humble self. It all depends on what your goal is, Mr. President, I would have started by advising him. For quite a while we have been engaged in a propaganda war with the Hungarians. They want to prove to the world public opinion that they are the champions of peace and stability in the area and that Bucharest is responsible for the tension between Budapest and Bucharest, which is worrying the West. For our part, we want to prove the opposite. In this war, we have so far lost a few important battles. The proposal that you are going to launch at the symposium will be a masterly blow to Budapest in this respect. This solemn appeal by Romania for a historic reconciliation will prove to the West that we are ready to do all we can to achieve peace and stability in this area. By launching this appeal, we will put Budapest in quite a difficult position. They will have to respond to this hand that we are pretending to extend. Hence, your speech will represent one of the few battles won by us in the media war with Hungary. If you think in these terms, the blow will be effective. However, if you were actually thinking of a possible historic reconciliation between ourselves and the Hungarians, then things are different. Your proposal will not be effective at all from this point of view. In order for it to represent even a beginning in the infernal process of conciliation between Romania and Hungary, Budapest needs to have the suspicion that the proposal means nothing but propaganda salvos being eliminated first. And, from this point of view, your appeal will fall on deaf ears. After we turned the commemoration of the Vienna Diktat into a new opportunity for a violent anti-Hungarian campaign, you, out of the blue, start suggesting to the Hungarians a Franco-German type of reconciliation. Not to mention that, inquiring a bit further, I found out that the entire symposium where you are launching this initiative of reconciliation would be dominated by the issue of Budapest's century-old perfidy. Your speech itself, which you conclude with the solemn appeal, is, after all, evidently anti-Hungarian. How can what you call in your speech the democratic leadership in Budapest believe in the sincerity of our proposal? As a matter of fact, between you and me, world public opinion will not swallow this, either. Nobody will forget that you have allied yourself with the nationalist extremist parties, which have made their life's goal permanently to denounce Budapest. Any intelligent mind on this planet able to think logically will be asking how the proposal of historic reconciliation between Hungary and Romania conforms with the presence in our country's government of certain parties that claim that they could eat Hungarians spread on a slice of bread? And there is something else here. Before coming up with this initiative that you want to be historic, did you discuss it with Gheorghe Funar [Romanian National Unity Party leader and mayor of Cluj] and Corneliu Vadim Tudor [Greater Romania Party president]? Have you received their assurance that, after you launch the reconciliation proposal, they will not resort to actions and statements aimed at contradicting Romania's good intentions?

Following the way in which the radio and television have commented on Ion Iliescu's speech at the symposium at Parliament Palace, I realized that I should have warned my boss, in my capacity as presidential advisor, about the danger that the employees of the radio and television, used to the style that prevailed before December 1989, would start talking about the presidential initiative in the bombastic and grandiose terms that they used to use when commenting on Nicolae Ceausescu's "historic initiatives." Listening on Wednesday night [30 August] to a well-known historian talking on the radio about Ion Iliescu's speech in the style in which he used to write about Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches, I was filled with regret that I had not become presidential advisor, as COTIDIANUL had announced.

Hungarians Want Own Education Institutes

AU0609233395 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 4 Sep 95 p 5

[Report by Andra Aurora Manta: "The Hungarian Community Will Set Up Its Own Education Institutes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Over 10,000 Hungarians from all parts of Transylvania came last Saturday [2 September] to Odorheiu-Secuiesc to participate in a civil protest forum against the new Education Law. On this occasion, they adopted a proclamation demanding that their popular legislative initiative on education in the language of minorities should be placed on the Parliament's agenda.

Through this proclamation, the Hungarian community expressed its intention to set up its own education institutes.

On this occasion, Bela Marko, president of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], said

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

that the Hungarians reject the new Education Law and demand the status of partners in the decisionmaking process; in matters exclusively pertaining to the Hungarian community, its representatives should be able to make decisions alone.

The great absentee from the forum was Laszlo Tokes, the UDMR honorary president, nicknamed by his colleagues "the megapastor," who preferred to go on a trip abroad.

As a premiere, the protest placards were also written in Romanian and the speeches were translated simultaneously into Romanian. The participants in the forum carried three flags: that of the Hungarians from everywhere, the Romanian tricolor, and the European flag.

Finally, with tears in their eyes, those present sang the hymn of Hungarians from everywhere.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Parliament Debates Ownership Transformation

95BA0330A Ljubljana SLOVENIA WEEKLY in English 22 Jul 95 pp 13-14

[Unattributed article: "Parliament on Ownership Transformation"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] After four days in session devoted exclusively to ownership transformation, members of Parliament finally wound up the session adopting 27 out of 60 suggestions aimed at improving certain deficiencies and doing away with errors in the ownership transformation process, which should also accelerate the process. In their discussion Members of Parliament reviewed the results of the ownerships transformation and the accompanying problems, especially the problem of damage that is being done to public ownership, the flow of public-owned capital to foreign countries and the question of appropriate auditing of ownership transformation. The Government prepared a comprehensive report on the work that has been done so far in the process of ownership transformation, while competent ministries, the national bank, funds, agencies and the public prosecutor's office reported about their activities related to the supervision and the auditing of the process. The special session was called on the initiative of the opposition Slovene People's Party.

With the adopted suggestions the Parliament bound the Government to prepare in the coming 15 days legislation which will make possible the carrying out of the audit in the companies owned by the Development Fund and other companies that have already carried out their ownership transformation. The legislation should also enable supervision over foreign exchange dealing, over foreign trade and over investments of Slovene companies abroad.

The legislation should also include the modalities of the prevention of money laundering in those cases where the increase of capital of a company and the purchase of shares, bonds, or ownership shares, had been carried out without cash. Also, the legislation should define the foundation of by-pass companies as a damage to public ownership and must also provide for faster and unified proceedings carried out by the administrative and judicial organs.

Parliament suggested that Government amends, as soon as possible, the law on foreign exchange dealings as well as the law in credit relations with foreign countries. Government should also provide for necessary new personnel and necessary changes, which should both ensure the legality of the procedure as well as accelerate the implementation of the law on the denationalization and the process of ownership transformation. Government should (by 30 September) define the criteria and procedures with the help of which the competent administrative bodies will check the legality of issued denationalization acts. Government should also examine the possibility of conceding the claims to denationalization claimants who are citizens of other former Yugoslav republics only on the basis of factual reciprocity regarding gaining ownership rights. Parliament also called on the Accounting Court to provide for a review and the supervision of foreign exchange dealings in all Slovene political parties, especially those represented in the Parliament.

The ownership transformation process of public-owned capital in Slovene companies had started before Slovenia declared independence. In that period, the process was being carried out on the the basis of the so-called Markovic law named by the then Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic. Slovenia adopted its law on ownership transformation in December 1992, a year an a half after the independence had been declared and approximately two years after the adoption of the Markovic law.

It is characteristic of the Slovene ownership transformation law that it functions as a compromise between decentralized, multi-possibility privatization and mass privatization through ownership certificates. At the beginning of the process, the State had issued and distributed special ownership certificates among Slovene citizens. The total value of the certificates issued amounted to SIT 563 billion. Through these certificates Slovene citizens can participate in the ownership transformation of Slovene companies directly (through internal buy-out of shares, internal distribution of shares, and public purchase of shares), or indirectly through authorized investment societies (PIDs). The PIDs have been more successful so far regarding the collection of certificates. By mid-May 1995 the PIDs collected certificates totalling more than SIT 220 billion, while the value of certificates collected by companies only amounted to SIT 170 billion.

The law on ownership transformation stipulated that the companies which are to begin the transformation process file their ownership transformation programs by the end of 1994. The Agency for Privatization received 1,355 programs. The companies that had filed their programmes employ more than 230,000 workers, which is more than two thirds of all employed in Slovenia. The companies that are to transform the ownership of their capital can chose between several possible ways of ownership transformation, internal buy-out of shares, internal distribution of shares, public purchase of shares, and different combinations of the above listed possibilities. The law stipulates that the companies transfer 20 percent of their public-owned capita to the

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Development Fund, 10 percent to the Indemnity Fund, and 10 percent to the Retirement Fund. More than 430 companies have already wound up the process of ownership transformation so far.

An important issue is also the damage that has been done to the public ownership after 31 December 1992. The national Auditing Agency determined that the damage had been done also after that date. The agency had received more than one thousand demands for revision of the ownership transformation processes by the end of 1993. By end May, the agency has carried out as more than 600 revisions and discovered damage to public ownership amounting to SIT 51 billion (DM 800 million). The actual total amount of the damage is now SIT 19 million since the majority of companies involved voluntarily agreed to harmonization with revision reports.

The supervision over the regularity and legality of the ownership transformation is also carried out by some other institutions in the framework of the judicial system and Ministry of Interior. The institutions for supervision have filed more than 300 reports at the public prosecutor's office denouncing illegal ownership transformation and other offences against economic or financial regulations. However, the number of cases that actually went to trial was very low owing to the fact that Slovene legislation lacks specific definitions of the illegal ownership transformation.

During their special session members of Parliament often criticized the snail-paced legal procedures related to illegal ownership transformation. According to the Parliament, the whole process of ownership transformation of Slovene companies is proceeding too slowly. One of the goals of the decisions and suggestions that were adopted at the special session is, therefore, also to accelerate the process and to achieve its better supervision.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Federal

Government Asks Security Council To Halt Strikes

LD0709143195 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 7 Sep (TANJUG)—The federal government at its emergency session today which was presided over by Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic examined the course of peace negotiations aimed at finding a political solution to the crisis in former Yugoslavia, particularly from the aspect of the current military and political situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Government urgently demanded that the UN Security Council immediately halt the [NATO] bombardment.

A statement released by the Federal Secretariat for Information from that session says that "the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] energetically demands of the UN Security Council to immediately halt the bombardment of Serb positions and other targets in the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, thus removing the danger of a possible escalation of the conflict in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and the threat to international peace and security in the entire region. According to the UN Charter this is within the immediate jurisdiction of the Security Council."

Continuation of the NATO strikes and action by the UN Rapid Reaction Force is a direct attack on the current negotiations and the scheduled peace initiatives which are supported and accepted by the [Bosnian] Serb Republic and are jeopardizing the steps taken so far toward seeking a peaceful and just solution to the crisis in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

Continuation of the air raids and other attacks is unacceptable and incomprehensible while calls are being made at the same time for negotiations and peace, when it is known that the leadership of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic has agreed to talks and has shown readiness, together with the FRY, to continue efforts to find an acceptable solution for all parties to the conflict. Such military action definitely does not contribute to peace.

With the UN and NATO military action aimed exclusively against one side, the other parties to the conflict are being encouraged to carry out military action, and this is playing directly into the hands of the advocates of the war option and opens up the possibility of a chain of reactions which would be difficult to halt later.

The Government of the FRY calls on the UN Security Council to take firm and urgent measures to halt the air raids and other attacks by NATO and thereby insure the conditions for continuing the talks and the restoration of much-needed peace, the statement says.

Lilic Urges End to Bombing, Meets Cypriot Officials

LD0809111995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1048 GMT 8 Sep 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept. 8 (TANJUG)—President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Zoran Lilic said Yugoslavia's immediate priorities included stopping NATO bombing of towns in the Bosnian Serb Republic and speeding up of the peace process in this former Yugoslav republic.

President Lilic, who Thursday received a delegation of the Supreme Court of Cyprus comprising President Georgos Pikis and Judge Petros Artemis, informed the guests about the current developments in the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and about the present situation concerning the peace process.

In this context, Lilic pointed out Yugoslavia's resolve to persist on reaching a political solution and peace in the war-affected territories of the former Yugoslavia, a statement from the president's office said.

The international community, Lilic said, must take into account the fact that durable and stable peace in this region could only be achieved through equal treatment of all sides and unconditional lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia.

He set out that force and threats never produced peace, had a limited range and that there was a limit to which a people could tolerate them, after which the only course the events could take was an escalation and spreading of war to the entire region.

We rightly expect of our friends to urge that the use of force be discontinued against Serb people and sanctions lifted, said Lilic and in this context set out the high regard for the persistent and principled stand of Cyprus and President Glafkos Clerides to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia especially appreciated Cyprus's resolved condemnation of Croatia's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina and the state terror against the Serb people who have been to the last expelled from their age-old homes, as well as the condemnation of the NATO bombarments of the Bosnian Serb Republic.

Lilic thanked the Cypriot people and state for political support to the consequent peace policy of the Federal republic of Yugoslavia, for the moral support and

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

solidarity and significant humanitarian aid to the Serb refugees.

He also said Yugoslavia, in keeping with its policy of peace, would continue to offer full support to the endeavors of official Nicosia to resolve the Cyprus problem as well as to the preservation of its integrity, continuity and the status of a subject of international law.

Cypriot Supreme Court President Pikis said the Cypriot people deeply sympathized with the Serb people in these hard times of its history and fully understood the troubles and injustices it faced precisely for having itself experienced the same fate when more than 20 years ago it was run out from the northern part of the island, where it lived for a full 3,000 years.

Greek Cypriots, too, pursued a policy of peace and negotiations, deeply convinced that a right and justice could only be attained in peace, equally for all, the small as well as the big peoples, said Pikis.

Ministry Sends Protest Note to Czech Republic

LD0709163295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1530 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Sept 7 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry on Thursday [7 September] sent a note to Czech Embassy Charge d'Affaires Vaclav Dobes, protesting over a staging of an event titled 'one month of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the Czech Republic.'

The protest said that a political motive of the event was hiding behind culture and aiming at stoking anti-Serb atmosphere in the Czech public.

The event, held under the patronage of Czech President Vaclav Havel, is being staged at the time of fierce NATO air strikes against the Bosnian Serb Republic, an act supported by statements of high-ranking Czech officials, the protest said.

The protest also said such a stand encouraged those who favored war and countered the traditional friendship between the Yugoslav and Czech peoples.

TANJUG Views Zagreb's 'Pressure' on Serbs

LD0709130195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1249 GMT 7 Sep 95

[Report by Nikola Stanojevic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Sept 7 (TANJUG)—Following its aggression on Serb Krajina, Croatia now uses verbal pressure against the Serbs while NATO and the UN pursue a 'diplomacy of bombs' in Bosnia.

Under Washington's and Bonn's wing, Zagreb publicly declares itself in favour of peace, which is nothing new, especially as concerns the 'peaceful reintegration' of Serb Krajina regions of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem.

Croatian leaders are not very optimistic about the results of a meeting of Yugoslav, Croatian, and Bosnian Muslim foreign ministers in Geneva on Friday and urge instead a military campaign 'to defeat the Serbs on the battlefield.'

Croatia occupied the southern and northern parts of the Republic of Serb Krajina in a major assault launched on August 4.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has threatened to 'liberate' eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem by 'peaceful means or by force' and Croatian Army chief Gen. Zvonimir Cervenko has advised the Serbs in these areas not to wait for the Croatian troops.

In addition to voicing such aggressive opinions, Croatian officials maintain that this is a 'historical chance' for Croatia to become an indispensable factor in the former Yugoslavia and beyond.

Croatia is counting on the reciprocal recognition of the states that have emerged in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and the unconditional reintegration of eastern Slavonia, Baranja and western Srem.

Of equal importance for Zagreb is to prevent Bosnian Serbs from uniting with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to allegedly 'save Bosnia,' which, naturally, would have confederal ties with Croatia.

The Croatian war-mongering machinery hopes that the new demands posed by Bosnian Muslims will help them to get the best possible deal or else thwart the latest peace initiative.

TANJUG on UK Economic Cooperation Seminar

LD0709170995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1633 GMT 7 Sep 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] London, Sept 7 (TANJUG)—A seminar on possibilities of restoring economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Great Britain was held at the London Chamber of Commerce on Thursday. Attending the seminar were British Government and Industrial Confederation officials and a Yugoslav Chambmer of Commerce delegation on a several-day visit to Britain.

Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce President Mihajlo Milojevic told TANJUG that Yugoslav businessmen's official visit to Britain signified that a process was open

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

for restoring economic cooperation between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Great Britain. Milojevic said the fact that the British Government had approved and supported the seminar, despite the sanctions against Yugoslavia still in force, illustrated a readiness to make the economic cooperation one of the mainstays of bilateral relations.

The Yugoslav delegation informed British businessmen about Yugoslavia's economic capacities and pointed out possible ways of cooperation and joint investments. The British side voiced interest in Yugoslavia's food and beverage industries.

Serbia

Government Announces Measures To Control Prices

AU0709182395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Sep 95

[Report by Dusan Vojnovic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Deputy Prime Minister Slobodan Radulovic has stressed the relatively stable production growth, which is within the growth planned for this year, but he pointed out that prices were the greatest current obstacle to implementing the economic recovery program. That is why the Serbian Government will implement several short-term measures to stabilize the supply and price of basic goods.

Srdjan Nikolic, republican trade and tourism minister, pointed out that the increase in prices in the past month was the result of high interest rates, poor use of industrial potentials, lack of competition, and the abuse of market monopoly; moreover, psychological reasons, that is, encouragement of the so-called inflatory expectations, cannot be ruled out. Nevertheless, the Serbian Government's main commitment remains unchanged: Free price formation on a supply and demand basis remains in force.

The realization of short-term measures for stabilizing prices and supplying the market with basic goods has already started, as exemplified by the prices for fresh and processed meat. An agreement was reached with producers, which will be implemented on Monday [11 September]. Similar agreements can be expected soon regarding the supply of sugar and cooking oil, the price of which will be coordinated with the purchasing power of an average consumer. Tomorrow's republican government session will review strategies for supplying the market with bread. [passage omitted]

Claims That Serbs Bombed Serbs Refuted

95BA0332C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 95 p 7

[Article by Radoje Arsenic: "Growing Appetites for a 'Greater Croatia'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The media's demonization of the Serbs is continuing, and so supposedly they even bombed themselves in a refugee column; Josip Manolic claims that the Serbs conducted ethnic cleansing against themselves; a "war of love," according to Vlado Gotovac.*

Zagreb, 9 Aug—The president of the Croatian Center, the poet Vlado Gotovac, in a letter of support for the Croatian state leadership and the military offensive against the Krajina, commented: "This is a war of love." It is well known how much "love" the Croats have shown and are still showing for the Serbs in the past five years, and the latest example could be seen in the material filmed by a French journalist, who accidentally ended up in the column of Serbian refugees that was bombed the day before yesterday by the aircraft of the "liberating" Croatian Army.

Attempts are being made, using the already tested inhuman and immoral methods, to cover up that criminal hypocritical act (carried out moreover against Serbian refugees from western Slavonia, after which the scene of the crime was cleaned up in order to eliminate the traces), by having Croatian officials attribute it to the Serbian side. This was claimed yesterday by Minister of Internal Affairs Ivan Jarnjak, and today, the newspapers here are carrying a scheme according to which "a colonel in the army of the former occupied Croatian areas, Vlado Babic, testifies that the air force of the Bosnian Serbs, commanded by Zivorad Ninkovic, conducted rocket attacks against the column of civilian and military refugees near Bosanski Petrovac." That, naturally, in accordance with the same scenario, is also being confirmed by Croatian intelligence sources.

Manolic's "Hyperbole"

After all, to this very day the Croats have not admitted a single crime against the Serbian civilians in western Slavonia, so why should they now (although, for example, partial lists have been published of ruthlessly killed civilians, who were "liberated" in their homes and towns by the Croatian Army)?

Another example of the bestiality to which that anti-Serbian propaganda can descend is last night's Croatian TV reporting on that criminal act. The head of the "Picture by Picture" broadcast, Tihomir Ladisic, announced the segment "How the Serbs conducted rocket

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

attacks against Serbian towns," and immediately afterward something that was completely the opposite was shown, a film by the above-mentioned French journalist who was talking about the attack by Croatian aircraft against the column of Serbian refugees. The segment began with testimony from a shaken girl who talks about how the Croatian soldiers who assaulted the column fired at the refugees, upon which her father was killed immediately. This is not the first time that Croatian TV has provided segments as if it had an autistic crowd or sheep on the other side of the screen, and not people who have their own conscience.

Just as the Serbs are already customarily to blame for everything here (thus, among other things, they themselves were "guilty" of their mass liquidation in Pavelic's NDH [Independent State of Croatia]), they are now to blame for the fact that they are fleeing ahead of their "liberators" in Croatian uniforms, who simply cannot reach them to show their "love" for them. The assertion by Josip Manolic in today's GLOBUS, which only faithfully reflects the current rationale of the nationalistic Croats, will be permanently remembered, it seems, probably as a Ripley's "Believe It or Not" case. Claiming that the Serbs' exodus from the Krajina could not have been prevented, he claims:

"Their terrorist, criminal behavior over the last four years, which affirmed ethnic cleansing as a normal political and military procedure, put them in this kind of situation, which may be tragic from a humanitarian standpoint, but which was politically completely expected, with the difference that this time the ethnic cleansing was not carried out by the Croats. On the contrary, perhaps for the first time in world history, ethnic self-cleansing has occurred."

Croatia Up to Zemun

This shameless statement says enough about the level and civilized nature of political and social awareness in today's Croatia, the seriousness and carcinogenic nature of which are all the greater and deeper because it comes from the ranks of the opposition to the regime which has so successfully done what a Pavelic could only dream of in vain, it has literally cleansed Croatia of the Serbs.

In that context, the reports that are being broadcast on the radio all day long about the "liberation" of such absolutely Serbian villages as Donji Lapac, for example, really sound morbid. Naturally it was liberated, but by its own population, the Serbs, and the brave "liberators," as they admitted themselves today on the radio, entered a completely empty city, which its inhabitants abandoned at least 12 hours before their arrival. It is a peculiar liberation, to the real shame of the "liberators," before which the people flee en masse from their houses and from their age-old homes.

On the wings of the victors' euphoria, in which a people is destroyed just because it wanted and believed that like past generations, it now also had a right to freedom, the appetites for a Greater Croatia, an NDH one up to Zemun and Boka Kotorska, are also being publicly reincarnated.

While Josip Manolic is sending a message to the Croatian Army today that it "should also liberate Bosnia," naturally from the Serbs, "if they do not agree to an integral Bosnia-Herzegovina" (the way that the Croats envision it), Capic's "Rightists," in all today's newspapers, are emphasizing that they do not recognize the "ZAVNOH [Antifascist Council of People's Liberation of Croatia]" borders of Croatia "without Srem, Boka Kotorska, and other historical Croatian areas," and therefore they do not believe "that everything is over." With respect to the Serbs from the Krajina, they are demanding the adoption of legal provisions to ban their possible return to Croatia.

Kosovo

Albanians Oppose Serbian Moves To 'Colonize'

AU0809081595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No. 695 on 1 September carries several reports on the settlement of Serbian refugees in Kosovo and the reaction of Albanian associations and organizations.

It is reported that "Kosovo institutions, political parties, and associations have been firmly opposing Serbia's moves to bring Serb refugees to Kosovo, warning that such a campaign is but another attempt of the Serbian regime to further colonize Kosovo and change its ethnic balance, which in turn could inevitably result in a conflict escalation embroiling the entire region." The report also notes that "alongside vociferous opposition to the settlement of Serbs to Kosovo, there have been repeated calls for the repatriation of hundreds of thousands of Kosovo Albanians who had been forced to flee Kosovo and have found shelter in many Western countries."

In an interview with the Pristina-based Albanian weekly KOHA, Mehmet Hajrizi, member of the Democratic League of Kosova (LDK) Presidency, stated that "Kosovo should insist on repatriating the Albanian refugees by all means, for any delay could only serve Serbian regime schemes to reverse the ethnic balance in Kosovo."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

The Pristina-based BUJKU stated today that, "It is most rational thing that the people of Kosovo call now on their sons and daughters throughout the world to come to Kosovo and share the good and bad with its people."

Kosovar leader Ibrahim Rugova considers "the Serbian regime moves to station Serbs from Croatia in Kosovo" to be "an open provocation to the Albanian people." Rugova has "urged the international community to force the Serbian regime to immediately put an end to further settlement of Serbs in Kosovo."

Pointing out the activity of the Soros Foundation in Belgrade, BUJKU says there is "evidence" indicating that the foundation is "another indirect sponsor of the colonization of Kosovo." Its branch in Pristina, called the Soros Yugoslavia Foundation, "has been constantly supporting refugees arriving in Kosovo, thus ignoring the educational and cultural plight of the Albanian population."

Reports also note that Serbian colonists have been accommodated in Albanians' houses. Such was the case of an Albanian from Gmic village in Kamenice, whose house was "occupied" by a Serb colonist. The Albanian told the LDK Information Commission in Kamenice that he bought the house in 1983 and the Serbian colonist "had broken the lock" and "occupied" it. The Serbian colonist confessed that "local authorities" told him to "occupy the house."

It is also reported that, on 30 August, the "so-called municipal crisis team in Gllogovc (Glogovac) distributed some written orders" to Albanian private owners to "deposit" from 100 to 1,000 dinars for "the needs of the Serbian colonists in the town."

In its report No. 696, KOSOVA DAILY REPORT publishes a statement issued by the Pristina-based Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms (CDHRF), which "denounces the stationing of Serb colonizers from Krajina/Croatia to Kosovo." The CDHRF says that "the Serbian regime vows to bring to Kosovo thousands" of other refugees, despite the fact that "refugees themselves refuse to be stationed in here." The CHDRF statement stresses that "the stationing of Serb refugees in Kosovo fits to the centenary Serbian schemes for colonization of Kosovo," mentioning "a bulk of Serbian projects for bringing to Kosovo hundreds of thousands of Serbs, including a decree of the Yugoslav/Serbian Government, adopted earlier this year, which envisages to populate Kosovo with 100,000 Serbs."

The statement reads: "Kosovo Albanians refused to take part in the warfare in Croatia and Bosnia, therefore no one has the right to impose to them the outcome of it. The Serbian regime efforts to change the ethnic composition of Kosovo will only rise the tensions and accelerate the conflict break out in Kosovo with serious consequences to the entire region."

Warning that "the Serb refugees pose a provocation to Albanians" considering that "they come from a region of warfare," the CDHRF says that it has "registered cases" where refugees "have provoked" citizens, "have taken by force" the flats of Albanians, or "have threatened them with forceful eviction." The statement says "the CDHRF appeals to the international public opinion and institutions to pressurize on Belgrade regime to bring to an immediate halt to further stationing of Serb settlers in Kosovo for it could result in unpredictable consequences to the entire region."

Pointing out Belgrade's "moves to colonize Kosovo" with Krajina Serb refugees, the CDHRF notes that the "Serbian regime has continued its drive to accomplish its ambitions through the use of violent methods in order to create an unbearable situation in which Albanians would see no prospects of living in. The violent moves could provoke an open conflict with unforeseeable consequences." The statement mentions "hundreds of individual and collective cases of violent actions against the Albanian population" in Podujevo, Vucitrn, Pristina, Glogovac, Kacanik, Gnjilane, Mitrovica, Skenderaj, Urosevac, etc., which "indicate an enormous increase of repression" on the part of Serbian police and army, which have been "staging open provocations." One case was the "brutal murder" of a 22-year-old Albanian from Grine village in Djakovica on 26 August. The CDHRF statement condemns the "ill-treatment and arrests and tortures" carried out in Radavc, Jabllanice e Madhe, Jabllanice e Vogel, and Novoselle villages, the violence against Albanian educational and political activists throughout Kosovo, and the staged political trials against Albanians, which are "commonplace practice."

Noting that it has constantly informed the international public of the "continuous violation of human individual and collective rights" in Kosovo, the "atrocities" and "brutal behavior" of the Serbian police and military, the CDHRF statement reads: "Given the seriousness of the situation, the CDHRF once gain appeals to human rights organizations in the world and the international community to take all measures at their disposal to bring about an end to the repression, violence, and provocative actions of the Serbian police and military as well as the Serbian-installed authorities in Kosovo, in order to prevent a possible conflict breakout which could lead to new tragedies in the Balkans."

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

Vojvodina

Sombor Airport Adapted to Civilian Use

95BA0318C Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jul 95 p 35

[FBIS Translated Text] Under a decision of the Sombor Opstina Assembly, the public enterprise Sombor Airport Under Construction was recently formed. According to the construction study done, the present military air base would be adapted to civilian traffic and the relevant equipment would be turned over by the Army of Yugoslavia.

According to the estimate, reconstruction of the runway and accompanying facilities for the arrival and departure of passengers will cost 5 million dinars. It is estimated that the Sombor Airport will be used by about 20,000 passengers a year.

This report may contain copyrighted material. Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.

BULK RATE
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT NO. 352
MERRIFIELD, VA.

This is a U.S. Government publication produced by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

FBIS collects, translates, disseminates, and analyzes foreign open-source information on behalf of the U.S. Government. Its publications may contain copyrighted material. ***Copying and dissemination is prohibited without permission of the copyright owners.***

— Bracketed indicators before the first sentence of each item describe the way in which the material was processed by FBIS.

— Headlines and all bracketed explanatory notes are supplied by FBIS.

— Personal and place names are rendered in accordance with the decisions of the U.S. Board on Geographic Names as adapted by FBIS. Unverified names in radio and television material appear in parentheses and are spelled phonetically; words and phrases in parentheses preceded by a question mark are unclear in the original and deduced from context.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

U.S. Government Customers

For a list of FBIS products, to subscribe to an FBIS publication, or to indicate a change of address contact:

FBIS
P.O. Box 2604
Washington, DC 20013-2604
Telephone: (202) 338-6735
FAX: (703) 733-6042

Non-Government Customers

Subscriptions are available from the National Technical Information Service:

NTIS
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, VA 22161
Telephone: (703) 487-4630
FAX: (703) 321-8547

New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.